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THE
A G E

OF
LEWIS XIV.

Translated from the FRENCH of
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

GLASGOW:

Printed by R. URIE;

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M. DCC. LIII.



XIV

LE

DE VOLTAIRE

THE SECOND

Printed by A. Smith

For Henry A. Smith, at the Museum

M. DCC. LIII

THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PARTICULARS and ANECDOTES of the REIGN of LEWIS XIV.

LEWIS XIV, in his court as well as in his reign, appeared with such eclat and magnificence, that the most minute-particulars of his life seem interesting to posterity, as they excited the curiosity of all the courts of Europe, and of the age he lived in.

The splendor of his government diffused itself over the smallest of his actions. There is a stronger desire, especially in France, to know the little incidents in his court, than the revolutions of some other countries: such is the effect of a high reputation. We find more pleasure in knowing what passed in the cabinet and court of Augustus than in the most exact account of the conquests of Attila or Tamerlane.

And this is the reason, why scarce any historian has omitted to relate the first inclinations of Lewis XIV. for the baroness de Beauvais, for Mademoiselle d'Argencourt, for the niece of cardinal

Mazarin, who was married to the count de Soissons, father of prince Eugene, and particularly for Maria Mancini his sister, who afterwards was married to the constable Colonne.

He had not yet the regal power in his own hands, when these amusements employed the inactivity in which cardinal Mazarin, who governed arbitrarily, suffered him to languish. His particular fondness for Maria Mancini was a serious affair; for he loved her well enough to be tempted to marry her, yet was sufficiently master of himself to be able to separate from her. The victory which he gained over this passion was the first evidence he gave of the greatness of his soul; though he gained over himself another conquest of still greater importance and difficulty, by suffering absolute authority to continue in the hands of Mazarin; gratitude preventing him from shaking off the yoke, which began to press heavy upon him. It was an anecdote well known at court, that after the death of the cardinal, he was heard to say, "I know not what I should have done if he had lived any longer."

He employed his leisure in reading books of entertainment, particularly with the constable's lady, who had wit and spirit like all her sisters. He was pleased with poetry and romances, which by pictures of gallantry and heroism secretly flattered his own character. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed in himself that taste which arises only from good sense, and the ready discernment of a sound understanding. The conversation of his mother and the ladies of her court contributed not a little to give him a taste of her courtly wit, and singular



politeness, which began then to distinguish the court. Ann of Austria had introduced into it a certain elevated and noble gallantry, which resembled the Spanish genius of those times, and joined with it that elegance, softness, and decent freedom, which was no where to be found but in France. The king made a greater progress in this school of pleasure, from his eighteenth to his twentieth year, than he had done in that of the sciences under his preceptors the abbe de Beaumont, and the president de Perigni. Under them he had learned hardly any thing; though it were to be wished they had at least instructed him in history, particularly the modern part: but the books then extant on this subject were very ill written. It was a lamentable consideration, that nothing but useless romances had been well composed, and that all useful and instructive writings were wrote in a disagreeable manner. A translation of Caesar's commentaries was printed under his name, and one of Florus under his brother's; but these princes were no other ways concerned in them, than in having translated, to very little purpose, some passages from those authors, for their exercises.

The two persons who directed the education of the king, under his governor the marechal de Ville-roi, were such as should be chosen, men at once both learned and amiable. Perigni was one of the finest wits of France, and is the author of these verses, afterwards set to music by Lully.

*Dans vos concerts nouveaux, Muses, faites entendre
A l'empire Francois ce qu'il doit esperer,
Au monde entier ce qu'il doit admirer
Aux Rois ce qu'ils doivent apprendre.*

Aonian maids resound, in lofty song,
What glorious hopes to Gallia now belong;
Inform the world what prince it should admire,
And fill the kings with emulating fire.

Their pupil, however, made but little progress under them. The civil wars were the cause, and Mazarin was satisfied that the king should know but little. His passion for Maria Mancini made him easily learn the Italian, and at the time of his marriage he applied himself to Spanish, but with less success. The neglect of his studies when a youth, a timidity which arose from the fear of exposing himself, and the ignorance in which cardinal Mazarin kept him, made the court imagine he would be always govern'd like Lewis XIII. his father.

But there was one occasion on which those, who can foresee things at a distance, discovered what he would be. This was in the year 1665; the civil wars were then at an end, he had made his first campaign, and the ceremony of his coronation had been performed: the parliament was still inclined to continue its assemblies on account of some edicts. The king, who was not then seventeen years old, left Vincennes in his hunting-dress, followed by all his court, entered the parliament in his great boots and a whip in his hand, and pronounced these words; "The mischievous consequences of your assemblies are well known; I

“ therefore order these which are met to discuss my
“ edicts, be now at an end : You, Mr. President,
“ I command you no longer to suffer these assem-
“ blies, and forbid all the rest of you to request
“ them.”

The majesty of his person, the dignity of his countenance, and the commanding air and tone of voice with which he spoke, struck them more than the authority of his station, which till then, had been but little respected. But this first bloom of his greatness seemed instantly to vanish, and the fruit never appeared till the death of the cardinal.

The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarin, was entirely engaged in gaming, dancing and comedy; which last being then in its infancy in France, could not yet be called an art : But tragedy, through the genius of Peter Corneille, was even then exhibited in great perfection. A parish priest of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, inclining to the rigorous notions of the Jansenists, had often written to the queen against these exhibitions, from the first years of her regency. He pretended, that to be present at them was a damnable sin, and even procured this anathema to be signed by seven doctors of the Sorbonne; but the abbe de Beaumont, the king's preceptor, being supported by the approbation of a greater number of doctors than what had concurred in the censure with the stern priest, quieted the scruples of the queen : and when he became archbishop of Paris, he authorised that opinion, which he had defended when he was only an abbot.

It is necessary to observe, that from the time cardinal Richlieu had introduced into the court

these regular dramas which have made Paris the rival of Athens, he had not only a bench there for the academy, in whose body there were many ecclesiastics, but had also a particular place for the bishops.

In the years 1646 and 1654, Cardinal Mazarin introduced Italian operas upon the theatre of the royal palace, and the little Bourbon near the Louvre, and had them performed by singers which he had sent for from Italy. Florence had very lately given birth to this new diversion, a country at that time equally favoured by nature and fortune, and to which was owing the revival of many arts which were for whole ages utterly forgotten, as well as the invention of many others not known before. In France there were still some remains of its former barbarity, which appeared in opposing the establishment of these arts.

The Jansenists, whom the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin were desirous to suppress, revenged themselves upon the pleasures these two ministers procured for the nation. The Lutherans and Calvinists had behaved in the same manner, in the time of Leo X. Indeed, a pretended austerity is frequently all that is necessary for the propagation of new doctrines. The same persons, who would overturn a state to establish an opinion often very absurd, anathematise the innocent amusements necessary for a great city, and the arts which contribute to the splendor of a nation. The abolition of dramatic entertainments would have been a design more worthy the age of Attila than that of Lewis XIV.

Dancing, which may even be numbered among

the arts, since it is subject to rules, and gives gracefulness to the body, was one of the greatest amusements of the court. Lewis XIII. had never danced but once in 1625, at a ball of so coarse and inelegant a taste, as gave no room to guess what the arts would be thirty years after. Lewis XIV. excelled in serious dances, which suited the majesty of his figure, and did not hurt the dignity of his character. His running at the ring, which was sometimes performed, and in which great magnificence was displayed, discovered with advantage the dexterity he was master of in all his exercises. The elegance and magnificence, now rising in France, appeared in every thing; and though but little in comparison to what was seen when the king took the power into his own hands, yet it was sufficient to raise admiration after the horrors of a civil war, and the gloomy and retired life of Lewis XIII. That prince, a sickly and peevish man, had neither the houses, attendants, nor furniture of a king. The jewels then belonging to the crown were not valued at more than a hundred thousand crowns. Cardinal Mazarin left but to the value of twelve hundred thousand, and now they are rated at more than twenty millions of livres.

At the marriage of Lewis XIV every thing assumed a yet higher air of taste and magnificence, which was from that time always improving. When he made his public entry, with the queen his consort, all Paris beheld with a tender and respectful admiration, this young princess, who was extremely handsome, carried in a magnificent chariot of a new invention. The king on horseback by her side, adorned with every thing which art could

give to his heroic and manly beauty, attracted also every one's observation.

At the end of the alleys of Vincennes, they erected a triumphal arch, designed by Claude Perrault, the base of which was of stone: But they had not time sufficient to finish it with durable materials. It was completed only with plaister, and has been since totally demolished. The gate of St. Anthony was also rebuilt on the same occasion, which, though a structure of but indifferent taste, is, however, adorned with pieces of tolerable sculpture. Those who, on the day that the battle of St. Anthony was fought, had seen great numbers of their dead and dying citizens brought back through this gate, then decorated like a herse; when they beheld an entry so different, blessed heaven, and gave thanks for so happy a change.

Mazarin, to celebrate this marriage, had an Italian opera represented at the Louvre, entitled *Ercole amante*; but it did not please the French; all the satisfaction it gave them, arose from seeing the king and queen dance in it. The cardinal was willing to distinguish himself by giving a representation more to the taste of the nation. De Lionne, secretary of state, undertook to have a kind of allegorical tragedy, composed in the manner of *Europa*, in which Richlieu had been concerned. It was lucky for the great Corneille, that he was not chosen to execute this disagreeable task. The subject was *Lisis* and *Hesperia*; Spain was meant by *Hesperia*, and France by *Lisis*. The piece was to be composed by Quinault, who had just gained a great reputation by the *False Tiberinus*, a piece, which, though bad, met with prodigious success. *Lisis*

had not the same fortune; it was played at the Louvre, but had nothing beautiful, except the machinery. De Riex, Marquis of Soardac, to whom France afterwards owed the establishment of the opera, had at the same time, the *Golden fleece*, *la Toison d'or*, of Corneille, performed, with all its machines, at his own expence in his castle of Newbourg. Quinaut, a young man of an agreeable appearance, was supported by the court, and Corneille by his character and the French nation.

From the time of the king's marriage, there was nothing but a continual series of feasts, pleasure, and gallantry; which was redoubled at the marriage of the prince his brother with Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II. and was never interrupted till the death of cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

Some months after that minister's death, there happened an affair, the parallel of which is not to be met with in history; and what is not less strange, all the historians seem to have been ignorant of it. There was sent with the utmost secrecy to the castle of the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence, a prisoner unknown, of a stature above the ordinary size, young, and of a most noble and beautiful appearance. This prisoner wore upon the road a masque, of which the lower part had steel springs, contrived so that he could eat without taking it off. Orders were given, that if he shewed any inclination to discover himself, he should be immediately killed. He remained in this island, till St. Mars, governor of Pignerol, an officer of great trust, being made governor of the Bastile, in the year 1690, went and brought him from the isle of St. Margaret, to the Bastile, ob-

serving always to keep his face masked. The marquis of Louvois went to see him in the island, before his removal, where he spoke to him standing, and apparently with great respect. This stranger, being carried to the Bastile, had the best accommodations which that castle could afford: nothing which he desired was refused him. His strongest passion was for linen of extraordinary fineness, and for lace. His table was always served in the most elegant manner; and the governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old physician of the Bastile, who had often attended this remarkable person in his disorders, declared that he had never seen his face, though he had often examined his tongue and other parts of his body. The physician said he was very finely shaped, his skin somewhat brown, his voice agreeable and engaging. He never complained of his condition, nor gave the least hint who he was. A famous surgeon, who was son-in-law of this physician, can attest the truth of this narrative; which has also often been confirmed by Bernaville, who succeeded St. Mars.

This unknown person died in 1704. and was buried in the night, in the parish of St. Paul. What increases the wonder is, that at the time when he was sent to the island of St. Margaret, no considerable person disappeared in Europe. Chamillard was the last minister who knew this strange secret. The second marshal de Feuillade, who married his daughter, has told me, that when his father-in-law was dying, he conjured him, on his knees, to tell him who this person was, who had been known by no other name than that of *the man with the iron mask*. Chamillard answered him, it

was the secret of state, and he had sworn never to reveal it.

Lewis continued to divide his time between the pleasures that suited his age, and the duties that belonged to his station. He had a council every day, and afterwards conferred with Colbert. Their private conferences produced the fall of the famous Fouquet, in which were involved the secretary of state, Guenegaud, Pellisson, Gourville, and many others. The fall of that minister, who perhaps did not deserve to be reproached so much as cardinal Mazarin, sufficiently proves, that the faults which are allowed in one, will in another be punished. His fall had been determined when the king accepted that magnificent entertainment which Fouquet gave him in his fine house named Vaux. This palace, and the gardens had cost him eighteen million of livres, which are near equal to thirty six of the present currency. He had built it twice over, and had purchased three entire villages, the ground of which was inclosed in his immense gardens; part of which were laid out by le Notre, and were then considered as the finest in Europe. His water-works, which, since the erection of those at Versailles, Marly and St. Clou, are not worthy of notice, were then regarded with wonder; but notwithstanding the beauty of the house, the expence of eighteen millions, the accounts of which are still to be seen, proves that he was served with as little oeconomy as he had served the king. St. Germain, and Fountainbleau, which were the only pleasure-houses the king then had, were certainly very far inferior to this of Fouquet's; of which the king was sensible, and it displeased him. In

every part of the house were displayed the arms and motto of Fouquet, which were a squirrel with these words: *Quo non aſcendam? To what height ſhall I not aſcend?* The king ordered the device to be explained to him; and the ambition which it expreſſed, did not contribute to appeaſe him. It was remarked by the courtiers, that in theſe arms of Fouquet, the ſquirrel was drawn purſued by an adder, which was the arms of Colbert. This feaſt was ſuperior to thoſe which Mazarin had made, not only in magnificence, but in elegance of taſte. Moliere's comedy called *les Facheux*, was repreſented for the firſt time upon this occaſion. The prologue, which was greatly admired, was written by Pellifſon. At court the ruin of particular people is ſo often concealed or prepared under the diſguiſe of public entertainment; that, had it not been for the preſence of the queen mother, Fouquet would have been arreſted at his own houſe, together with Pellifſon, on the very day of the entertainment. It heightened the reſentment of the king to find, that Mademoiſelle de la Valiere, for whom he began to feel a real paſſion, had excited the tranſient ardour of Fouquet, who ſpared no expence to gratify his inclinations. He had made that lady an offer of two hundred thouſand livres; but his propoſal was received with indignation, even before ſhe had any deſign upon the king's heart. Fouquet, having afterwards diſcovered what a powerful rival he had, endeavoured to make himſelf the confident of her whom he had not been able to poſſeſs, and by this attempt he gave new provocation.

The king, who in the firſt heat of his indignation, had been tempted to have Fouquet arreſted in

the midst of the entertainment, which he was then receiving at his house, afterwards made use of more dissimulation than was necessary; and it might be said, that this prince, whose power was unlimited, was nevertheless afraid of the party which had been gained by Fouquet.

He was procureur-general of the parliament, and that intitled him to the privilege of being tried by an assembly of the chambers: but after so many princes, marshals, and dukes, had been tried only by commissioners, a simple magistrate might easily have been treated in the same manner, especially since it was resolved to make use of such extraordinary methods, which, though not unjust, are never without suspicion of injustice.

Colbert induced him, by an artifice not very honourable, to sell his post, which he did for twelve hundred thousand livres, which is more than two millions of the present currency. The excessive price of places in the parliament, so greatly diminished since, proves what consideration this body still preserved even in its declining state. The duke of Guise, great chamberlain to the king, sold this office of the crown to the duke de Bouillon, only for eight hundred thousand livres.

Fouquet, though he had squandered the revenues of the state, and used them as his own property, was not, however, without greatness of soul; his depredations on the public had been committed only for the sake of magnificence and liberality; and though he put into the treasury the money which he received from the sale of his post, yet this noble action did not save him. They made use of an

artifice to draw to Nantz a man who might have been seized at Paris by a petty officer and two guards. The king just before his disgrace treated him with an appearance of particular kindness. Most princes, I know not for what reason, generally affect to deceive, by false shews of regard, those of their subjects whom they intend to ruin. Dissimulation is in this instance inconsistent with true greatness; It can never be a virtue, nor in any degree commendable, but when it is absolutely necessary. Here Lewis XIV. seemed to depart from his character; but he had been informed, that Fouquet had erected great fortifications at Belleisle, and that perhaps he might have too many confederates both within and without the kingdom. But after he was arrested, and carried to the Bastile and to Vincennes, it appeared, that his influence was only in the avarice of some courtiers, and women who received pensions from him, and who forgot him as soon as he had no longer any thing to give. He had no friends remaining, but Pellisson, Gourville, Mademoiselle Scudery, those who shared in his disgrace, and some men of letters.

The verses of Hainault, the translator of Lucretius, against Colbert the persecutor of Fouquet, are well known:

*Ministre avare et lache, esclave malheureux,
Qui gemis sous le poids des affaires publiques,
Victime devoue aux chagrins politiques,
Fantome reveure sous un titre onereux,
Voi combien des grandeurs le comble est dangereux;
Contemple de Fouquet les funestes reliques,
Et tandis qu' a sa perte en secret tu t'appliques,*

*Crains qu' on ne te prepare un destin plus affreux.
 Sa chute quelque jour te peut etre commune.
 Crains ton poste, ton rang, la cour et la fortune.
 Nul ne tombe innocent d' ou l'on te voit monte.
 Cesse donc d'animer ton prince a son supplice,
 Et pret d'avoir besoin de toute sa bonte,
 Ne le fais pas user de toute sa justice.*

Vain tool of greatness, arrogant and base;
 The wretched slave of power, and power's disgrace,
 Vile drudge ! devoted to the toils of state,
 Groaning beneath the burden they create.
 Poor phantom, by an odious name rever'd ;
 At once detested, prais'd, admir'd, and fear'd :
 Contemplate the remains of lost Fouquet ;
 There view the dangers of a pow'r too great ;
 And while thy secret arts the fall'n pursue,
 Fear the swift ruin may o'ertake thee too :
 Like his, one day, may be thy wretched state ;
 Fear then thy post, thy rank, the court, and fate.
 None, at that heighth where envy sees thee climb,
 Stands without foes, or falls without a crime.
 Cease then to urge thy prince's vengeance on,
 Thyself so near the thunders of the throne :
 Such guilt is thine, as mercy scarce can spare ;
 Oh teach not justice to reject thy prayer.

When these injurious lines were mentioned to Colbert, he asked, whether the king was offended at them ? and being told that he was not ; Nor I neither, said he.

It is certain, that to form a charge against Fou-

quet, was to accuse the memory of Mazarin. The most enormous depredations on the revenue had been committed by him. He had appropriated, as a sovereign, several branches of the public income; he had supplied the army in his own name, and for his own profit; "he exacted (says Fouquet, in his defence) extraordinary sums, by letters *de cachet*, "from the generalities: which had never been "done but by him, and for his advantage, and "which is punishable with death by the laws." By such means had the cardinal heaped together vast wealth, of which he himself knew not the amount.

I have heard the late Monsieur de Coumartin, intendant of the finances, say, that, when he was a young man, some years after the death of the cardinal, he was at the Mazarin palace, where the duke his heir, and the duchess Hortensia then lived; that he saw, there, a large and deep chest of drawers, which filled one side of a closet, from top to bottom. The keys had long been lost, and no one had ever opened the drawers. Monsieur de Coumartin, amazed at such negligence, told the duchess, that perhaps something curious might be found in the drawers: in consequence of this they were opened, and were found full of doubloons, gold counters, and medals, which Madam Mazarin threw by handfuls out of the window, to the people, for eight days together.

Cardinal Mazarin's abuse of his unlimited authority was no justification of Fouquet; but the irregularity of the proceedings against him, the length of his trial, time, which extinguishes the public odium, and raises compassion for the unfortunate; and finally, the repeated solicitations, which are al-

ways urged in favour of the unhappy, with more ardour than intrigues are carried on for their destruction; all these concurred to save his life. His sentence was not passed, till three years after, in 1664, when of twenty two judges who gave their suffrages, nine only condemned him to death, and the other thirteen, some of whom had taken presents from Gourville, sentenced him to perpetual exile. This punishment the king commuted for another more severe, by confining him in the castle of Pignerol, in which, all historians unanimously say, that he died in 1680; but it is certain, that before his death, he had liberty to retire to an estate, belonging to his wife, of which I was assured, long ago, by the countess de Vaux, his daughter-in-law, and it has been since confirmed by the memoirs of Gourville.

Guenegaud, secretary of state, who sold his post to Colbert, was not the less vigorously prosecuted by the chamber of justice, which took from him the greatest part of his estate.

St. Evermond, who was connected with Fouquet, was involved likewise in his disgrace. Colbert, who was indefatigable in his search for evidence against a man whom he wanted to destroy, ordered some papers to be seized, that were in the hands of Madam du Pless-Bellievre, in which was found a manuscript letter of St. Evermond's, on the peace of the Pyrenees. The letter, which contained nothing but mere pleasantry, was read to the king, and construed into a crime against the government. Colbert, who thought it below him to take vengeance of so obscure a man as Hainault,

confined his persecution to St. Evermond, whom he hated as the friend of Fouquet, and dreaded as a man of wit. The king was so extremely severe, as to punish with banishment an innocent piece of raillery, made long before upon the cardinal, whom he himself did not regret, and against whom, all the court, for some years, had, without the least censure, vented reproaches and invectives. Of a thousand papers written against that minister, that only was punished, which was the least severe; and this too, after his death.

St. Evermond retired to England, and passed the remainder of his days amongst a free and philosophical people. The Marquis de Miremont, his friend, told me formerly at London, that there was another cause of his disgrace, which St. Evermond would never reveal.

The new minister of the revenues, with the plain title of comptroller general, justified the severity of his prosecutions, by re-establishing that regularity which his predecessors had destroyed, and by labouring incessantly to increase the power of the state.

The court became the centre of pleasure, and the model of other courts; the king took a pride in giving entertainments, which might obliterate the memory of Fouquet's. Nature seemed then to take a pleasure in giving France the greatest men in every art, and in assembling at the court of Lewis XIV, the most beautiful and graceful personages of both sexes.

The king surpassed all his courtiers by the superior dignity of his person, and the majestic beauty of his countenance. The tone of his voice, which was insinuating and noble, gained the hearts of those

which his presence intimidated. His manner of walking was suitable only to his own rank and person, and in any other would have been ridiculous. The confusion into which he threw those who spoke to him, flattered him with a pleasing conviction of his own superiority. The old officer, who, when he came to ask a favour of him, was so disconcerted, that he stammered and could not finish his discourse, but could only say, 'May it please your majesty to believe, that I do not tremble thus before your enemies;' found no difficulty to obtain his request.

Polite conversation was not yet brought to perfection at court. Anne of Austria, the queen mother, began to love retirement. The queen consort scarcely understood French, and her innate goodness was her only merit. The king's sister-in-law, the princess of England, introduced into the court the charms of an agreeable and sprightly conversation, which she improved soon afterwards, by the reading of good authors, and by a just and refined taste. She also made herself perfect in the language which she could not write with propriety at the time of her marriage. She inspired a new emulation of wit, and introduced into the court such grace and politeness, as the rest of Europe had yet scarcely an idea of. This lady had all the wit of Charles II. her brother, embellished with the charms of her own sex, and with the desire and power of pleasing. A decent gallantry reigned in the court of Lewis; that of Charles II. was more free and unreserved, and its pleasures were dishonoured by indecency and impoliteness.

There passed at first between this lady and the

king, some of those coquetish sallies of wit, and that secret sympathetic correspondence, which is frequently the consequence of little parties often repeated. The king sent her letters in verse, which she answered. The marquis de Dangeau was the confidant both of the king and the princess in this ingenious correspondence. He was employed by the king to write for him, and the princess also engaged him to compose answers for her; thus he served them both, without suffering either to suspect that he was intrusted by the other; and this was one of the chief causes of his good fortune.

This intimacy alarming the royal family, the king changed their correspondence into a solid esteem and friendship, which continued to the last. When the princess afterwards set Racine and Corneille to write the tragedy of *Berenice*, she had in her eye not only the rupture between the king and the constable Colonne's lady; but the restraint likewise which she had put upon her own inclinations, lest they should become dangerous. Lewis XIV. is sufficiently pointed out in these two lines of *Berenice*.

*Qu' en quelque obscurite, que le ciel l'eut fait naitre;
Le monde, en le voiant, eut reconnu son maitre.*

Howe'er obscure thy birth by heav'n's decree,
The gazing world had own'd its lord in thee.

These gallantries gave place to a passion more serious and lasting, for Mademoiselle de la Valiere, maid of honour to the princess. With this lady the king experienced the uncommon happiness of being loved for his own sake. She was for two

years the secret object, to whom all the gay amusements and treats the king gave, were dedicated. A young man, named Belloc, one of the king's valets de chambre, composed several recitatives, which they introduced into their dances, at the queen's, or at the princess Henrietta's; and in these verses they mysteriously expressed the sentiments of their hearts, which did not long continue a secret.

All the public diversions the king gave, were so many marks of respect paid to his mistress. In 1662, a great carousal or tournament was held, not in the place royal, (as we are told in the history of de la Hode, or la Motte, under the name of Martiniere; this place was not fit for it,) but over against the Tuileries, in a large inclosure which is still called the place of the Carousal. There were five troops of horse representing so many different nations; the king was at the head of the Romans, his brother headed the Persians, the prince of Conde the Turks, the duke d'Enguien, his son, the Indians, and the duke of Guise the Americans. This duke of Guise was grandson to Balafre, and had made himself famous in the world, by that unfortunate bravery, by which he attempted the conquest of Naples. His confinement, his duels, his romantic amours, his extravagance, and his adventures, made him so singular every way, that he appeared a man of a different age. Those who saw him running against the great Conde, cried out, *Behold the heroes of history and fable.*

The queen mother, the queen consort, and the queen of England, widow of Charles I. who, upon this occasion, suspended her afflictions, were seated under a canopy to behold the entertainment.

The count de Sault, son to the duke de Lesdiguières, won the prize, which he received from the hands of the queen mother. These entertainments revived more than ever the taste for emblems and devices, which tournaments had formerly introduced, and which had subsisted long after them.

An antiquary, named d'Ouvrier, invented an emblem for Lewis XIV. it was a sun darting his rays upon a globe, with these words, *Nec pluribus impar*. This thought was in some measure copied from a Spanish device made for Philip II. and more suitable to this monarch, who possessed the finest part of the new world, and so many territories in the old, than to a young king of France, who had yet given nothing but hopes of his grandeur. The device, however, was highly approved; the arms of the king, the furniture of the crown, the tapistry and sculptures, were all adorned with it; but the king never bore it in the carrousal. Lewis XIV. has been unjustly reproached with the vanity of this device, as though it had been his own invention. The device itself has been, perhaps, more justly the subject of criticism. The emblem did not plainly represent, what the motto signified; nor was the sense of the motto sufficiently clear and determined: what may be explained different ways, does not merit any explanation at all. Devices, which are remains of antient chivalry, may be proper in festivals, when the allusions are new, just, and striking; but it is better not to have them at all, than to have such as are poor and low; like that of Lewis XII. who bore a hedgehog, with these words, *Qui s'y frotte, s'y pique*. He who touches me, pricks himself. Devices are

to inscriptions, what masquerades are, when compared with magnificent ceremonies.

The feast of Versailles in 1664, exceeded that of the carousal, in singularity, in magnificence, and in the rational entertainments, which being mingled with the splendor of these diversions, gave them an elegance of taste, with which they had not been adorned before. Versailles began to be a delightful place, though it did not approach the grandeur which it has since displayed.

On the 5th of May, the king came there, with a court composed of six hundred persons, whose expences, together with all their attendants, he defrayed, and also of those who were employed in the preparations for these enchanting entertainments. Nothing was wanting in these festivals, but lasting edifices, raised on purpose for them, such as were built by the Greeks and Romans; but the expedition with which theatres, amphitheatres, and porticos were erected, decorated with equal elegance and magnificence, was a wonder which heightened the illusion; and by being diversified afterwards a thousand ways, increased the charm of these delightful entertainments.

At first there was a kind of carousal, wherein those who were to run, appeared the first day, as in a review, preceded by the herald at arms, pages and squires, who carried their devices and bucklers; and upon their bucklers were written, in gold letters, some verses composed by Perigni and Benjérade, the last of whom especially had a particular talent for these little pieces of gallantry, in which he always made lively and delicate allusions to the characters of persons, the heroes of antiquity, or the

fable which was represented, and to the reigning taste of the court. The king represented Roger; and in his character, all the diamonds of the crown glittered upon his habit, and upon the horse on which he was mounted. The queens, with three hundred ladies, seated under triumphal arches, beheld this entry.

The king, amongst all the eyes that were fixed on him, distinguished none but those of *Mademoiselle de la Valiere*. The entertainment was made for her alone, and though she was not distinguished from the croud, she secretly enjoyed the honour of it.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilded chariot, eighteen feet in height, fifteen wide, and twenty four in length, representing the chariot of the sun, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron ages; the celestial signs, with the seasons and hours, followed the chariot on foot; every thing was in character: shepherds brought in their hands pieces of the pallisades, which they placed regularly to the sound of trumpets, to which, by intervals, succeeded bagpipes, and violins. Some persons who followed the chariot of *Apollo* came forward, and repeated to the queen, verses alluding to the place, the persons, and the time. The races being finished, and the day at an end, four thousand large flambeaux illuminated the space in which the feast was prepared. The tables were served by two hundred persons, representing the seasons, the fauns, the sylvens and dryads, with shepherds, reapers and grape-gatherers. *Pan* and *Diana* appeared upon a moving mountain, and descended to place upon the tables the greatest rarities the fields

and forests produced. In a semi-circle, behind these tables, was raised all at once, a theatre covered with musicians; the arches which encompassed the tables, and the theatre, were adorned with five hundred branches of green and silver, filled with wax-candles, and the vast enclosure was encompassed with a gilt balustrade.

The feasts, so superior even to those in romance, lasted seven days. The king gained the prize in the games four times, and afterwards relinquished them, to be disputed for by the other knights.

The comedy of the princess *d'Elide*, though it is not one of Moliere's best pieces, yet made one of the most agreeable additions to these diversions; by an infinite number of fine allegories to the manners of the age, and by temporary allusions, which constitute the pleasure of these entertainments, but which are lost to posterity. The court was still infatuated with the notion of judicial astrology; many of the princes, through a superstitious pride, supposed, that nature, to distinguish them, had writ their destiny in the stars. Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy, father to the duchess of Burgundy, had an astrologer always with him, even after his abdication. Moliere ventured to attack this superstition in his piece.

A court fool was also introduced into it. Those wretches were still very much in fashion, and were the remains of that barbarity which continued longer in Germany, than any other place. The want of amusements, and the impossibility of procuring those that were polite and agreeable, in times of

ignorance and bad taste, made them contrive this wretched diversion, which is a disgrace to the human understanding. The fool who was then retained by Lewis XIV. was called Angeli, and had formerly belonged to the prince of Conde. Count de Grammont once said, that among all the fools that had followed the prince, not one excepting Angeli had made his fortune. This buffoon was not destitute of wit. It was he who said, *That he never went to hear sermons, because he hated noisy discourse, and did not understand argument.*

The farce, called *The forced marriage*, was likewise acted upon this occasion; but what truly deserved admiration, was the first representation of the three first acts of *Tartuffe*. The king was so desirous of seeing this excellent piece, that he would not wait till it was finished: he afterwards protected it against the false devotees, who would have engaged heaven and earth in its suppression: but it will subsist, as we have already observed in another place, as long as taste and hypocrisy shall remain in France.

The greater part of these brilliant solemnities are often designed only for the eyes and ears. Mere pomp and magnificence is but the wonder of a day, but when such a master-piece of art as *Tartuffe* makes one of the ornaments of these feasts, the remembrance of them is never wholly erased.

Many shining strokes in the allegories of *Ben-ferade*, which adorned the balls of those times, are still remembered; among which I will here only cite those verses made for the king, when representing the sun.

*Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous sur le ton
De Daphne ni de Phaeton.*

*Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine,
Il n'est point la de piege, ou vous puissiez donner;
Le moien de s' imaginer,*

Qu' une femme vous fuie, et qu'un homme vous mene?

No Phaeton, nor Daphne here,

Their pride or coldness blind,

To be so daring, or severe,

So rash, or so unkind,

That this can never be your fate,

Requires no pains to prove;

What man would dare to grasp your state,

Or woman fly your love?

The chief glory of these amusements, which brought the learning, the politeness, and the taste of France to perfection, was, that they did not in the least incroach upon the assiduous labours of the monarch; without these labours, he would have known only to keep a court, not how to reign. And if the magnificent pleasures of this court had insulted the miseries of the people, they could not have failed of being odious. But the same man, who gave these entertainments, supplied the people with bread in a time of famine. In 1662, he procured the importation of corn, which was sold to the rich at a low price, and was distributed to the poor for nothing, at the gate of the Louvre. He also remitted the payment of three millions of taxes. No part of the administration at home was

neglected; abroad he was every where regarded. The king of Spain was obliged to yield him precedence; the pope forced to give him satisfaction, and Dunkirk was added to the kingdom, at a price glorious to the purchaser, and shameful to the seller: in a word, from the time he held the reins of government himself, all his actions were either useful or noble, and therefore he might make these entertainments with a good grace.

Chigi, nephew of pope Alexander VII. the legate a latere, who came to Versailles in the midst of all these rejoicings, to make the king satisfaction for an insult of the pope's guards, exhibited a new appearance to the court. Such great ceremonies as these are entertainments to the public. The honours paid to the legate made the satisfaction which he rendered more conspicuous. He, under a canopy, received the compliments of all the superior courts, and bodies of the city and clergy; he entered Paris amidst the roar of cannon, having the great Conde on his right hand, and the son of that prince on his left. In this manner he came to humble himself, Rome, and the pope, before a king who had not yet drawn his sword. After audience, he dined with his majesty, and all the business now was to procure him pleasures, and treat him with magnificence. The doge of Genoa was treated afterwards with fewer honours, but with the same attention to please, which the king always joined with his acts of power.

All this gave the court of Lewis XIV. an air of grandeur, which eclipsed every other court in Europe. He was desirous that this lustre should reflect from his own person, down to his brother and the

prince, and to all about him; that the greatest persons in his court should all have honour, but none have power. With this intention he determined in favour of the peers, their antient dispute with the presidents of the parliament, who claimed a right of giving their opinion before the peers, and had been put in possession of that privilege. He determined in an extraordinary council, that the peers should give their opinion before the presidents, in presence of the king, as if they received this privilege merely from his presence, and left the old custom still subsisting in the assemblies.

To distinguish his principal courtiers, he invented large blue coats, embroidered with gold and silver. Those therefore, in whom vanity was predominant, thought it a very great favour, if they obtained permission to wear them, and they were solicited with at least as much eagerness as the collar of an order. It may be observed, since we are now speaking of little particulars, that the dress of these days was a coat, with a waistcoat under it, adorned with ribbands; over this coat was a belt, at which the sword hung: they wore a kind of laced band, and a hat with two rows of feathers. This fashion, which lasted till the year 1684, became general all over Europe, except in Spain and Poland. They piqued themselves almost every where in imitating the court of Lewis XIV.

The order he established in his household, continues to be observed. He made new regulations in ranks and employments; he created new posts about his person, such as that of grand master of his wardrobe; and revived and augmented the tables in-

stituted by Francis I. He had twelve officers which eat at court, served with as much profusion and elegance as those of many sovereigns, to which he ordered all strangers should be invited; which was carefully observed throughout his reign. He gave another instance of still greater politeness. When the pavillions of Marli in 1679 were built, all the ladies found a complete toilet in their apartments; nothing either for conveniency or magnificence was forgot. Whoever attended him in any excursion, was able to give a repast in his own apartment, and was served with the same elegance as his master. These little things are only estimable, when they are supported and dignified by greater. A grandeur and generosity was to be seen in all his actions. To the daughters of his ministers, at their marriage, he made a present of two hundred thousand franks.

What made his reputation shine most in Europe, was a liberality without example, which was first excited in him by a conversation with the duke de St. Aignan, who told him, that cardinal Richlieu had sent presents to some learned foreigners, who had written in his praise. The king did not stay to be praised, but being certain that he should deserve it, he recommended it to his ministers Lionne and Colbert, to chuse a certain number of French and Foreigners, distinguished for literature, on whom he might bestow some marks of his generosity. Lionne having written into foreign countries, and informed himself as well as he could in so nice a matter, wherein one cotemporary was to be preferred to another; a list was then made out of sixty persons, some of whom had presents, and others pen-

sions, according to their rank, their merit, or their necessities. Allati, keeper of the Vatican library, count Graziani, secretary of state to the duke of Modena, the celebrated Viviani, mathematician to the grand duke of Florence, Vossius, historiographer to the United Provinces, Huygins, the illustrious mathematician, a Dutch envoy in Sweden, the professors even of Alton and Helmstad, cities almost unknown to the French, were astonished at receiving letters from Colbert, in which they were informed, that though the king was not their sovereign, yet he intreated them to permit him to be their benefactor. These letters were conceived in terms agreeable to the dignity of the persons, and were all accompanied with pensions or considerable presents.

Among the French, they had the sagacity to distinguish Racine, Quinault, and Flechier, since bishop of Nimes, at that time very young; and all these received presents. Chapelain and Cotin had indeed pensions; but Chapelain was the person whom Colbert chiefly consulted. These two men, though decried for their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain had great learning, and what is more surprising, had great justness of taste, and was one of the best critics of his time. There is an immense distance between this and genius; learning and discernment direct an artist, but never make one. No-body in France had more reputation in their time than Ronfard and Chapelain: for the nation, in the time of Ronfard, was in a state of barbarity, out of which it was but just emerging, in that of Chapelain. Costar, the fellow-stu-

dent of Bassac and Voiture, called Chapelain the first of heroic poets.

Boileau had no share in these donations. He had yet composed nothing but satires; and it was known, that in these very satires he had attacked the very men of learning whom the minister had distinguished. The king, however, without asking any one's opinion, took notice of him some years after.

The presents bestowed on foreigners were so considerable, that Viviani built a house at Florence, with the bounty he received from Lewis XIV. Upon the front of it these letters were engraved in gold; *aedes a Deo datae*: in allusion to the surname of *Dieu-donne*, or God's gift, the name by which the public voice had distinguished Lewis XIV. at the time of his birth.

It is easy to imagine the effect such extraordinary magnificence produced in Europe; and if we reflect upon the great actions the king soon after performed, the most severe and censorious tempers may admit the immoderate praises which were lavished on him. It was not the French alone who celebrated him; twelve panegyrics were pronounced on Lewis XIV. in as many different cities of Italy, and were sent to him bound, and richly ornamented with gold, by the marquis Zampieri.

That he continued to diffuse his bounty upon letters and arts, his particular gratuities to Racine, which amounted to four thousand louisd'ors, the fortune of Despreaux, that of Quinaut, but more eminently that of Lulli, and all the artists who dedicated their labours to him, are sufficient proofs. He even gave a thousand louisd'ors to Benferade, to

may for engraving the plates of his Ovid's metamorphosis, translated in roundo's; a bounty, which, though it served to shew the generosity of the prince, was certainly but ill applied; and might rather be considered as a reward for some small merit which he had shewn in his balls.

It is difficult after this to perceive, upon what foundation some writers have reproached this monarch with avarice: a prince who has lands absolutely distinct from the revenues of the state may be covetous, like a private man; but a king of France, who is in reality only the distributor of the subject's money, can scarcely be ever charged with such a vice. Such a prince may, indeed, want a regard to merit, and a disposition to reward; but Lewis XIV. could not be reproached with this.

Even at the same time, when he began to encourage genius by his liberality, the count de Buffi was severely punished for the use he made of his: he was sent to the Bastile in 1664. The amours of the Gauls was the pretence of his imprisonment, but the true cause was the song, in which the king was treated with too much freedom, and which, upon this occasion, was brought to remembrance, to ruin Buffi, the reputed author of it.

*Que Deodatus est heureux,
De baiser ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille a l'autre va!*

How great is Deodatus' bliss,
That am'rous little mouth to kiss,
Which runs from ear to ear!

His works were not good enough to compensate for the mischief they did him. He spoke his own language with purity, he had some merit, but more conceit; and he made no use of the merit he had, but to make himself enemies.

Lewis would have acted generously, if he had pardoned him. He revenged his personal injury by seeming to give way to the public clamour; nevertheless the count de Buffi was released, at the end of eighteen months; but he was in disgrace all the rest of his life; in vain protesting a regard for Lewis XIV. which neither the king nor any other person believed sincere.

CHAPTER XXV.

A Continuation of the PARTICULARS and ANECDOTES.

TO the glory, the pleasures, the gallantry, and grandeur, which engaged the first years of his government, Lewis XIV. was desirous to add the sweets of friendship; but it is difficult for a king to make a happy choice. Of the two men in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, the one betrayed him basely, and the other abused his favour. The first was the marquis de Vardes, whom the king made confident of his passion for Madam de la Valiere. The intrigues of the court made him endeavour, as it is known, to ruin Madam de la Valiere, whose situation must raise envy, but whose character ought to have preserved her from enemies. He is known to have ventured, in concert with the

Count de Guiche, and the countess de Soissons, to write to the queen consort a counterfeit letter, in the name of the king of Spain her father: this letter informed the queen of what ought to have been kept from her knowledge; and could have no other effect than to disturb the peace of the royal family. He added to this treachery, the wickedness of making the king's suspicions fall upon the best persons about the court, the duke and duchess de Navailles; and this innocent nobleman and his lady were sacrifices to the resentment of the deluded monarch. The atrocious practices of Vardes were discovered too late, and guilty as he was, he suffered no greater punishment than those whom he had falsely accused, who had been obliged to resign their employments, and retire from it.

The other favourite was the count, afterwards duke of Lauzun, at one time the king's rival, in his rambling amours, at another, his confident; and famous since for having aspired too publicly to a marriage with Mademoiselle, which he afterwards secretly contracted, notwithstanding the promise he made his master to the contrary.

The king, deceived in both these choices, said, that he had sought for friends, but had found only men of intrigue. This lamentable knowledge of men, which is always acquired too late, made him also say, *That every time he gave away a vacant employment, he made a hundred persons discontented, and one ungrateful.*

The war of 1666, gave no interruption either to the pleasures of the court, the decorations of Paris, or the palaces, or to the king's attention to the government of the kingdom.

He did not leave off dancing in the balls at court, till 1670, at which time he was two and thirty years old. The tragedy of *Britannicus* being acted before him and at St. Germain, he was struck with these lines:

*Pour merite premiere, pour vertu singuliere,
Il excelle a trainer un char dans la carriere.
A disputer des prix indigne de se mains,
A se donner lui-meme en spectacle aux romains.*

See his chief merit, see his noblest praise:
He drives a chariot in the dusty race;
Disputes a prize unworthy of his hand,
And is the sport of those he should command.

From that time he never danced in public; the poet reformed the king. His connection with Madam de la Valiere always continued, notwithstanding the frequent infidelities he was guilty of. These infidelities indeed cost him but little trouble: he found few women that were able to resist him, and always returned to her, who by her engaging conversation, and sweetness of temper, by an undissembled love, and even by the force of habit, had made herself mistress of his heart, without the help of artifice. But in the year 1669, she perceived that madam de Montespan had gained the ascendant. She opposed her with her usual softness, and supported a long time, almost without complaint, the mortification of seeing her rival's triumph. She thought herself happy in her misfortune, as she was still treated with respect by the king, whom she continued to love, and still en-

oyed his presence, though she was no longer beloved by him.

At length, in 1675, she had recourse to the soft relief of tender minds, which are not subdued but by profound reflections. She thought that the heart which had been engaged by her lover, ought henceforth to be dedicated only to heaven. Her conversion was as eminent as her fondness; she turned Carmelite at Paris, and steadily continued to wear a hair-cloth, to walk barefoot, to fast with great severity, and to sing whole nights in the choir, in an unknown tongue; all which was born without shrinking, by the delicacy of a woman, who had long lived in much splendor, luxury, and pleasure. In these austerities she continued from 1675 to 1710, under the name of sister Louisa, de la Misericorde. A king, who should punish the most atrocious criminal in this manner, would be guilty of tyranny; yet many women have voluntarily sentenced themselves to this punishment, for the crime of love. There are few instances of politicians, who have taken this rigorous course, and yet the crimes of state seem to require greater expiations than the weaknesses of love; but they that have the government of souls have little authority, but over weak minds.

When sister Louisa was told of the death of the duke de Vermandois, whom she had by the king, she said, *I have reason to lament his birth, even more than his death.* She had likewise a daughter by the king, who of all his children was most like him. She married the prince Armand de Conti, grand nephew to the famous Conde. In the mean

time, the marchioness de Montespan enjoyed his favour with as much ostentation and imperiousness as madam de la Valiere had possessed it with modesty.

While madam de Valiere and Montespan were yet contending for the king's favour, the whole court was busied in amorous intrigues; Louvois himself felt the tender passion, and among the several mistresses which this minister had, who seemed but little formed for love, there was one madam de Frenoi, wife of one of his clerks, whom he found means to establish in the service of the queen. She was made lady of the bed-chamber, and was mistress of the ceremonies upon extraordinary occasions. The king, in thus favouring even the passions of his ministers, justified his own.

It is a singular instance of the power of custom, and prejudice, that at a time when all the married women were allowed to have lovers, the grand daughter of Henry IV. was not permitted to have even a husband. That princess, after having refused so many sovereigns, and having hopes of marrying Lewis XIV. was desirous, at the age of forty three, to make the fortune of a gentleman. She obtained leave to marry Peguillin de Caumont count de Lausun, captain of one of the two companies of a hundred gentlemen pensioners, which being no longer kept up, the king had erected for him the post of colonel general of dragoons. There are a hundred examples of princesses, who have married gentlemen: the Roman emperors gave their daughters to senators; the daughters of Asian monarchs, who are more powerful and more despo-

tic than a king of France, never marry any but their father's slaves.

The princess gave all her wealth, computed at twenty millions, to the count de Lausun, together with four duchies, the sovereignty of Dombes, the county d'Eu, and the palace of Orleans, called the Luxembourg. She kept nothing in her own hands, but resigned herself wholly to the pleasure of giving the man she loved a greater fortune than ever any king had given to a subject. The contract was drawn up, and Lausun, for a single day, was duke of Montpensier. Every thing was ready, and nothing remained but to sign; when the king, set upon by the princes, ministers, and enemies of a man whose happiness they regarded as too great, retracted his word, and forbad the alliance. He had written to foreign courts to declare the marriage, and now he wrote to signify that it was broken off. He had been blamed for permitting it, and now he was blamed for forbidding it. He wept for the affliction which he caused the princess; but the same prince, whom his breach of promise had so affected, imprisoned Lausun in November 1671, in the castle of Pignerol, for having married in secret the princess, whom, a few months before he had given him leave to marry in public. He was kept a prisoner ten years. There are several kingdoms where this power is not in the hands of the prince; but those, who, though they have this power, make no use of it, are more secure of their people's love. Ought a subject, who commits no crime against the laws of the community, to be punished with so much severity by him who acts as

the representative of that community? Is not the difference very great, between displeasing the sovereign and betraying him? Or, ought the king to treat any man with more rigour than he would suffer from the laws?

Those authors have done more injury to this monarch, who say, † that madam de Montespan, after having prevented the marriage, enraged against the count de Lausun, for his violent reproaches, demanded this revenge of Lewis XIV. It would have been at once an act both of tyranny and meanness, to sacrifice to the anger of a woman, a brave man, one who had been his favourite, and who was deprived by him of a great fortune, without having committed any other crime than that of complaining too freely of madam de Montespan. The reader must pardon these reflections: the rights of human nature force them from me: but at the same time, since Lewis never, throughout his whole reign, did an action of this kind, he cannot, without partiality, be accused of such cruelty and injustice. It is enough that he punished with so much severity a clandestine marriage, an innocent union, which it had been better to have seemed ignorant of. To withdraw his favour from the count was natural, but to imprison him was cruel.

Those, who doubt of this secret marriage, need only read with attention the memoirs of Mademoiselle, from which we learn more than she tells

† The original of this imputation, which we find in so many historians, arises from the *Segraisiana*, a posthumous collection of some conversations of Segrais, which have almost all been forged. The book is full of contradictions; and indeed none of these *Ana* deserve credit.

us. We there see, that this princess, who had complained so bitterly to the king of the breaking off her marriage, durst make no complaint of the imprisonment of her husband. She confesses that they believed her to be married, and does not say, that she was not; and though we could find only these words, *I neither can nor ought to alter my choice*, they would be sufficient to decide the question.

Lausun and Fouquet were surpris'd to meet each other in the same prison; particularly Fouquet, who in the height of his glory and power had beheld Piquelin at a distance, among the croud, as a country gentleman of no fortune; and now thought him mad, when he related to him, that he had been the favourite of the king, and was once permitted to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the possessions and titles of the house of Montpensier.

After having languish'd ten years in prison, he was at last released, but not till madam de Montespan had first prevail'd on the princess to bestow the sovereignty of Dombes, and the earldom d'Eu, on the duke du Maine, then an infant, who enjoy'd them after the death of this princess. Her motive for these donations, was the hope that Monsieur de Lausun would be acknowledg'd for her husband; but she was deceived: the king only permitted her to give this secret and unfortunate husband, the lands of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with other revenues, which, though considerable, were not sufficient for Lausun. She was reduced to the mortification of being his wife in secret, and of

being ill treated in public, for that reason. Equally unhappy at court, and at home, which is the common effect of violent passions. She died in 1693. †

The count de Lauzun went afterwards to England, in the year 1688. Always destined for extraordinary adventures, he conducted the queen of James II. into France, with her son, then in the cradle. He was created a duke, and commanded in Ireland, but with little success, and returned in more reputation for his adventures than the personal regard paid to him. He died in extreme old age, and quite forgotten, as it generally happens to all those who have experienced great changes of fortune, without having performed any great actions. In the mean time, madam de Montespan was in possession of boundless power, from the beginning of the intrigues of which we have been speaking.

Athenais de Mortimar, wife of the marquis de Montespan, her eldest sister, the marchioness de Thiange, and her youngest, for whom she obtained the abby of Fontevraud, were the most beautiful women of their time, and all three added to this advantage a turn of wit particularly agreeable. The duke de Vivonne, their brother, who was a marshal of France, was one of the courtiers who was most distinguished for his reading and taste;

† At the end of her memoirs is printed a history of the amours of Mademoiselle and Lauzun. It is the work of some valet de chambre, to which are added verses worthy of the history, and of such impertinencies as they have the liberty of printing in Holland.

it was he whom the king one day asked, what signified reading? to which the duke replied, *Reading is to the mind, what your partridges are to my cheeks*: the duke's face was remarkably plump and fresh coloured.

These four persons were universally agreeable for a singular turn of conversation, a certain mixture of pleasantry, ease, and elegance, which was called at that time, the spirit of the Mortimars. They all wrote with remarkable liveliness, and a particular grace; and from hence it appears, how ridiculous the story is, which I have lately heard revived, that Montespan was obliged to employ madam Scarron to write her letters to the king, who owed to this her successful rivalry of madam de Montespan.

Madam Scarron, afterwards madam de Maintenon, had indeed more knowledge acquired by reading, her conversation was more soft and insinuating; there are letters of hers remaining, written with surprising elegance: but madam de Montespan had no occasion to borrow from any person, and was a favourite long before madam de Maintenon was presented to him.

The glory of madam de Montespan was displayed in the journey the king made to Flanders in 1670, when the ruin of the Dutch was concerted in the midst of pleasure. The whole was a continual entertainment, decorated with the utmost magnificence.

The king, who had travelled in all his military journeys on horse-back, went now for the first time in a coach. Post chaises were not then invented; the queen, the duchess of Orleans, his sister-in-

law, and the marchioness de Montespan, were in this magnificent equipage, followed by many others; and when madam de Montespan went alone, she had four of the life-guards at the doors of her coach. The Dauphin came afterwards, with his court, and Mademoiselle with hers: this was before the fatal adventure of her marriage; she then peaceably enjoyed all these triumphs, and saw, with a secret satisfaction, her lover, then a favourite with the king, at the head of his company of guards. The finest furniture belonging to the crown was brought into the villages where they lay; in every town was a ball, masquerade, or fireworks: all the troops of the household accompanied the king, and all the attendants of the household went before or followed him. The tables were served as at St. Germain, and the king in this splendid manner, visited all the conquered cities. The principal ladies of Brussels and Ghent, who came to have a sight of this magnificence, were invited by the king to his table, and he made them presents in the most genteel manner. All the officers of the troops in garrison likewise received presents. It often cost him fifteen hundred louis'd'ors a day in different bounties.

All honours, all respects, were paid to madam de Montespan, except what duty gave to the queen. That lady, however, knew not his secrets; the king made a proper distinction between his pleasures and the affairs of state.

Madame, solely intrusted with the commission to transact the union of the two kings, and the destruction of Holland, embarked with part of the French court at Dunkirk, on board the fleet of

Charles II. king of England, her brother; she took with her Mademoiselle de Kerowal, afterwards duchess of Portsmouth, whose beauty equalled that of madam de Montespan, and was afterwards in England (but with more influence) what Montespan was in France. Charles II. was governed by her, even to the last moment of his life; and though he was often inconstant to her, he was always under her direction. No woman ever preserved her beauty longer: at the age of near seventy years, her person still appeared noble, agreeable, and even unimpaired by time.

Madame went to Canterbury to meet her brother, and returned with the glory of having succeeded, for which she was still rejoicing, when a sudden and lamentable death snatched her away at the age of six and twenty, the 30th of June 1672. The consternation and grief of the court was augmented by the manner of her death. It was generally believed she was poisoned; Montague the English ambassador was persuaded of it, the court did not doubt it, and all Europe publicly proclaimed it. One of her husband's old domestics has told me the person, who, according to him, gave the poison. "The man," said he, who was not rich, withdrew immediately afterwards into Normandy, where he bought an estate, on which he lived with grandeur a long time: the poison, added he, was powder of diamond mixed instead of sugar with strawberries." The court and city believed the princess had been poisoned with a glass of water of succory, after which she felt terrible pains, and soon afterwards died in convulsions; but the natural malignity

of mankind, and a fondness for extraordinary accidents, were the only inducements to this general persuasion. The glass of water could not be poisoned, since madam de la Faiete and another person drank what remained, without receiving the least injury from it; and the powder of diamond has no more venom in it, than the powder of coral. The princess had been a long time ill of an abscess, which had formed itself in the liver. She laboured under an ill state of health, and had been delivered of a child absolutely putrefied: her husband, too much suspected in Europe, had neither before nor after this incident been guilty of any wicked action; and criminals who have committed but one great crime are seldom found: human nature would be too wretched, if it was as common to commit enormities as to believe them.

It is pretended that the chevalier de Lorraine, the favourite of the duke of Orleans, to revenge the banishment and imprisonment which his misbehaviour to the princess drew upon him, was induced to commit this horrid crime. It ought to be observed, that the chevalier de Lorraine was then at Rome, and that it is a very difficult thing for a knight of Malta, but twenty years old, at that distance, to procure the death of a great princess at Paris.

It is but too certain, that the weakness and indiscretion of the viscount de Turenne were the first cause of all these odious reports, which people still take pleasure in reviving. He was, at the age of sixty, the lover and the dupe of madam de Coatquen, as he had been of madam de Longueville. To that lady he revealed the secret of state, which

had been concealed from the king's brother. Madame de Coatquen, who loved the chevalier de Lorraine, told it to him, and he informed the duke of Orleans of it. The family of this prince became victims to the bitterness of reproach and jealousy. These troubles broke out before the princess's voyage to England, and redoubled at her return. The furious passions of the duke of Orleans, the quarrels of his favourites with the friends of the princess, filled the house with confusion and grief. The princess, some time before her death, gently reproached the marchioness de Coatquen with the miseries of which she had been the cause: this lady, throwing herself on her knees at her bed-side, bathed her hands with tears, and only replied with these verses of Vanceflas,

*J'allais ——— j'étais ——— l'amour a
 Sur moi tant d'empire
 Je m'egare, Madame, et ne puis que
 Vous dire.*

I was going ——— I was ———

Love rules in my breast with such absolute sway,
 That my thoughts are confus'd, and I nothing
 can say.

The chevalier de Lorraine, author of these dissensions, was first sent by the king to Pierre Encise; the count de Marfan, of the family of Lorraine, and the marquis, since marshal de Villeroi, were banished. To conclude, the natural death of this unhappy princess was considered as the criminal consequence of these disturbances.

What confirmed the public in the opinion of her being poisoned, was, that this crime now first began to be known in France. This revenge of cowards was never practised amidst the horrors of a civil war. But this crime, through a fatal singularity, infected France at the time when the manners of the people were softened by pleasures and glory; and it insinuated itself thus into ancient Rome in the happiest days of that republic.

Two Italians, one of whom was named Exili, laboured a long time with a German apothecary, named Glafer, in search of what they called the *philosopher's stone*: in this search, the two Italians lost all the little they were possessed of, and endeavoured by guilt to repair the misfortune their folly had brought upon them. They secretly sold poisons. Confession, the greatest restraint of human wickedness, (but of which those make a very ill use, who believe, that the power of thus expiating crimes, gives them liberty to commit them) confession, I say, discovered to the grand penitentiary of Paris, that some persons had died by poison. He gave information of this to the government; the two suspected Italians were sent to the Bastile, where one of them died. Exili continued there without being convicted, and from the dark recesses of his prison dispersed these fatal secrets throughout Paris, which cost the life of the lieutenant d'Aubrai and his family, and at last caused the court of poisons to be erected, called *la chambre ardente*.

The source of these horrible events was love. The marquis de Brinvilliers, son-in-law of the lieutenant d'Aubrai, invited St. Croix, a captain in his regiment to lodge in his house. His too agree-

able person alarmed the virtue of the marchioness; she endeavoured to inspire her husband with a fear of the consequences, but he obstinately persisted in keeping this young man in the house with his wife, who was young, handsome, and tender: that which was naturally to be expected happened, they conceived a passion for each other. The lieutenant, father to the marchioness, was severe and imprudent enough to solicit a letter de cachet, and got the captain sent to the Bastile, who should only have been sent to his regiment. † St. Croix was unhappily put into the same chamber with Exili. This Italian taught him how to revenge himself: the sequel, which cannot be heard without horror, is known. The marchioness did not make any attempt on the life of her husband, who excused the passion himself had caused; but the fury of revenge excited her to poison her father, her two brothers and sister. Amidst so many crimes, she had some religion, and went often to confession, and when she was arrested at Liege, there was found a general confession written with her own hand, which furnished presumptions against her, but not evidence. It is not true, that she had first tried these poisons in the hospitals, as was commonly reported, and as is said in the *causes celebres*, a work of an advocate without practice, and written only for common readers. But it is true, that both she and St. Croix held a private correspondence with per-

† The history of Lewis XIV. under the name of Martiniere, calls him the abbe de la Croix. This history, every where faulty, confounds names, dates and events.

sons accused afterwards of the same crimes. She was first beheaded, and then burnt, in 1680; but from 1670, when Exili had begun to compound poisons, to 1680, this crime infected Paris. It cannot be denied that Pennautier the receiver general of the clergy, and friend of that lady, was accused some time afterwards of having practised her secrets; and that it cost him half his substance to suppress the evidence.

La Voisin, La Vigoureux, a priest named le Sage, and others, practised the secrets of Exili, under pretence of satisfying inquisitive and weak minds, by predictions and apparitions of spirits. The crime was believed to be more general than it really was. The *chambre ardente*, or burning chamber; was established at the Arsenal, near the Bastile in 1680. Persons of the greatest quality were cited to appear before it; among others, two nieces of cardinal Mazarin, the duchess of Bouillon, and the countess de Soissons, mother of prince Eugene. They were not ordered into custody, as we are told in the history of Reboulet. This author is equally deceived in saying, that the duchess de Bouillon appeared with so many friends before the judges, that she had nothing to apprehend, even though she had been guilty. What friends in these times would have been able to rescue any person from justice? The duchess de Bouillon was accused only of a ridiculous curiosity. Things of a more serious nature were charged upon the countess de Soissons, who retired to Brussels. The marshal de Luxembourg was confined in the Bastile, and submitted to a long examination, after which he remained fourteen months in prison. It is impos-

able to conceive the shocking reports these accusations gave rise to in Paris. The punishment of la Voisin and his accomplices, who died at the stake, put an end to crimes and enquiries. This abominable wickedness was confined to a few individuals only, and did not corrupt the better and much more general manners of the nation; but it left in the minds of men a fatal propensity to suspect natural deaths of violence.

What was believed to be the unhappy fate of madam Henrietta of England, was afterwards thought to be her daughter's Maria Louisa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. king of Spain. This young princess set out with regret for Madrid. Mademoiselle had often said to Monsieur, the king's brother, *Do not bring your daughter so often to court, she will be too miserable in other places.* This young princess was desirous of marrying the Dauphin. *I make you queen of Spain,* said the king to her, *what could I do more for my daughter?* *Ah,* replied she, *it is in your power to do more for your niece.* She was snatched from the world in 1689, at the same age as her mother. It was undoubtedly believed, that the Austrian ministers of Charles II. would get rid of her, because she loved her own country, and might prevent the king her husband from declaring for the allies against France; they even sent her from Versailles what they believed to be a counter poison, which was a very uncertain precaution; for as there is no such thing as an universal antidote, what might cure one distemper, may strengthen another. This imaginary antidote arrived after her death. Those,

who read the memoirs compiled by the marquis de Dangeau, will find, that the king spoke these words at supper. "The queen of Spain is dead, poisoned by eating of an Eel pye; and the countess de Pernits, and the Camerists, Zapeita and Nina who eat of it after her, are also dead of the same poison."

After reading such a strange anecdote in these manuscript memoirs, said to be composed with great care by a courtier, who during forty years was almost always with Lewis XIV; I should nevertheless doubt the truth of this. I inquired of some of the king's old domestics, whether it was true, that the monarch, who was always circumspect in his discourse, had ever spoke such imprudent words? They all assured me that nothing could be more false. I also asked some considerable persons who came from Spain, whether it was true, that those three ladies had died with the queen; they protested to me, that all three had survived their mistress a long time. To conclude, I am convinced that the marquis de Dangeau's memoirs, which have been looked upon as a valuable monument, was nothing but the reports of the day, written by one of his domestics; and I dare say, this will sufficiently appear by the stile, the trifles, and the falshood with which that collection is filled. After all these melancholy ideas into which we have been led by the death of Henrietta of England, we will now return to the adventures which happened at court after her death.

The princess Palatine succeeded her a year afterwards, and was mother of the duke of Orleans,

regent of the kingdom. To enable her to marry Monsieur, there was a necessity for her renouncing Calvinism; but she always preserved for her former religion, that secret respect which it is difficult to shake off, when it has been impressed upon the heart in childhood.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the queen's maids of honour in the year 1673, was the cause of a new establishment at court. This disaster is known by a sonnet of L'Avorton, whose verses have been so often quoted.

*Toi que l'amour fit par' un crime,
Et que l'honneur defait par un crime a son tour,
Funeste ouvrage de l'amour,
De l'honneur funeste victime. etc.*

Thou who by love wast criminally form'd,
Destroy'd by guilty honour in its turn,
Of love the fatal issue we should mourn,
The victim dire of honour, to be scorn'd, etc.

The dangers inseparable from the station of a maid of honour, in a gay and voluptuous court, determined them to change the twelve maids of honour which adorned the queen's court, for twelve ladies of the palace; and from that time the queen's household has always been thus composed. This establishment made the court more numerous and magnificent, by adding to it the relations and husbands of these ladies, which improved its society, and produced greater opulence.

The princess of Bavaria, wife of the Dauphin,

at her first appearance at court, diffused into it new splendor and vivacity; yet the marchioness de Montespan continued to attract the greatest attention: but at last, she also ceased to please, and the haughty and insolent sallies of her grief could not reclaim a heart which had forsaken her. Nevertheless, she still remained at court, where she had an important employment, which was superintendant of the queen's household, and still preserved some interest with the king by her children, by habit, and by a long established ascendent.

All the appearances of friendship and respect continued to be shown to her, which, however, did not appease her; for the king, though concerned at her extreme uneasiness, of which he was the cause, yet being carried away by other inclinations, he began to taste a pleasure in the conversation of madam de Maintenon, which he no longer enjoyed with his former mistress. He was at once divided between madam de Montespan, whom he was not able to quit, Mademoiselle de Fontange, whom he loved, and madam de Maintenon, whose conversation became necessary to his disquieted mind. These three rivals for his favour held all the court in suspense. It appears to the honour of Lewis XIV. that none of his intrigues had any influence on public affairs; and that love, which agitated the court, never caused the least disturbance in the government. In my opinion nothing can better prove that Lewis XIV. had a soul as great as his heart was tender.

I should even think, that these court intrigues, which are foreign to the state, ought not to have a place in history, did not the name of

Lewis XIV. make every thing interesting; and had not the same mysteries been unveiled by so many historians, who in general have misrepresented them.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Continuation of the ANECDOTES.

MADAM de Fontange became with child in 1680, and was created a duchess; but did not long enjoy her good fortune. She died a year after, of an illness contracted in her lying in, and the son she had by the king did not survive his mother.

The marchioness de Montespan, though she had now no declared rival, no longer possessed a heart weary of her and her complaints. Almost all men, when they have lost the sprightliness of youth, find occasion for the society of an easy and complaisant woman. The weight of business in particular makes this consolation necessary. The new favourite madam de Maintenon, who was sensible of the secret power which she was daily increasing, behaved with that art which is natural to women, and not displeasing to men.

She wrote one day to madam de Frontenac, her cousin, in whom she reposed an absolute confidence, "I send him away always in affliction, but never in despair." At this time, when her favour was increasing, and that of Madam de Montespan was upon the decline, these two rivals saw

each other every day, sometimes with a secret hatred, at other times with a transient confidence which the necessity of speaking, and weariness of constraint, introduced into their conversation. They agreed each of them to write memoirs of what passed at court. This work was not carried to any great length. Madam de Montespan, in the last years of her life, used to divert herself with reading some passages out of these memoirs to her friends. Devotion, which mingled itself in all these secret intrigues, confirmed madam de Maintenon in favour, and removed madam de Montespan. The king reproached himself for his passion for a married woman, and felt the force of this scruple the more, as he no longer felt the passion of love. This perplexing situation lasted till 1685, a year memorable for the revocation of the edict of Nantes; that time exhibited very different scenes; the despair and flight of one part of the nation on one side, on the other, new feasts at Versailles. The palace of Trianon and Marli were built, and nature forced to make these places delightful with gardens wherein all the powers of art were exhausted.

The marriage of the grandson of the great Conde with Mademoiselle de Nantes, the king's daughter by madam de Montespan, was the last triumph of this mistress, who then began to withdraw from court. The king afterwards married two more children he had by her; Mademoiselle de Blois to the duke de Chartres, whom we have since seen regent of the kingdom; and the duke de Maine, to Louisa Benedicta of Bourbon, grand-daughter of the great Conde, and sister of Monsieur the duke, a princess celebrated for her wit, and her taste in the

the arts. They who have only approached the
the palace royal, or the palace de Sceaux, know the
the falsehood of those popular reports, which are col-
lected in so many histories, concerning these mar-
riages. There are above twenty volumes, in
which it is said, that the houses of Orleans and
Bourbon thought themselves dishonoured by these
proposals: one may there read, that the princess,
mother to the duke of Chartres, menaced her son,
and even that she beat him. The anecdotes of the
constitution gravely relate, that the king having
made use of the abbe de Bois, under-preceptor to
the duke de Chartres, to complete the negociation,
that this abbe succeeded with difficulty, and de-
manded a cardinal's hat for a recompence. What-
ever concerned the court, is in many histories re-
lated in this manner.

Before the celebration of the marriage of Mon-
seigneur the duke with Mademoiselle de Nantes, the
marquis de Segnelai gave the king an entertain-
ment on this occasion, worthy of that monarch, in
the gardens de Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre, with
as much taste as those of Versailles. In these gar-
dens was performed *L'idylle de la paix*, written by
Moliere. There was a new carousal in Versailles,
and after the marriage the king displayed an uncom-
mon magnificence; the first hint of which cardi-
nal Mazarin had given in 1656. In the great hall
of the palace at Marli four shops were formed, and
furnished with all that the industry and ingenuity
of the best artists in Paris could produce, either
rich or curious. These four shops were so many
superb ornaments, which represented the four sea-
sons of the year. Madam de Montespan was in

one of them, with the Dauphin. Her rival was another, with the duke of Maine; the two new married persons had each one: Monsieur the duke was with madam de Thiange, and the Duchesse whose youth would not allow her with decency to have a man with her, was with the duchess de Chevreuse. The ladies and gentlemen, named for this excursion, drew lots for the jewels with which shops were furnished; and thus the king made presents to all the court in a manner worthy of himself. The lottery made by Cardinal Mazarin was less ingenious and less splendid: such lotteries were practised formerly by the Roman emperors; but none of them graced their magnificence with so much gallantry as Lewis XIV.

After the marriage of her daughter, madam de Montespan appeared no more at court, but lived with great dignity at Paris. She had a great revenue, though but for her life: the king paid her a pension of a thousand louis d'ors a month; she went every year to drink the waters of Bourbon, and used to marry the girls about that place, and give them portions. She was no longer at that age when her imagination could be struck with such forcible impressions, as to send her into a nunnery; she died at Bourbon in 1707.

The same year in which Mademoiselle de Nantes was married to Monsieur the duke, the prince of Conde died at Chantilli, aged sixty-six years. His illness was occasioned by an effort he made to go and see the duchess, at that time ill of the small pox. One may judge by this solicitude, which cost him his life, whether he had any dislike to the marriage of his grandson with this daughter of the

king's by madam de Montespan, as was related in the lying gazettes, with which Holland was then infected. We are also told in a history of the prince of Conde, produced in the same seminary of ignorance and imposture, that the king took a pleasure on every occasion to mortify this prince, and that at the marriage of the princess of Conti, daughter of madam de Valiere, the secretary of state refused to give him the title of *high and mighty lord*, as if this was the title given to the princes of the blood. The author who composed the history of Lewis XIV. at Avignon, partly upon these wretched memoirs, must have been very ignorant of the world and the manners of our court, to relate such falsehoods.

In the mean time, after the marriage of Madam the duchess, after the total eclipse of the mother, the victorious madam de Maintenon gained such an ascendant, and inspired Lewis XIV. with so much fondness and so many scruples, that the king, following the advice of father de la Chaise, secretly married her in 1686, in a little chapel, at the end of an apartment, since used by the duke of Burgundy. The marriage was performed without the least contract or stipulation whatever. The archbishop of Paris, Harlai de Chamvalon, gave them the nuptial benediction; the confessor was present at the ceremony, and Montchevreuil and Bontems first valets de chambre, attended as witnesses. The knowledge of this fact cannot now be suppressed, since it is related by so many authors; who nevertheless are ignorant with respect to names, places, and dates. Lewis XIV. was then in the forty eighth year of his age, and the lady he married in

her fifty second. The prince, who was crowned with glory, was desirous to relieve the fatigues of government by the innocent pleasures of a private life. This marriage engaged him in nothing unworthy of his rank. It was always disputed at court whether madam de Maintenon was married or not: they regarded her as the king's choice without paying her the respect due to a queen.

The fate of this lady among us appeared very strange, although history records many examples of fortunes still greater, and more distinguished, which have arose from less beginnings. The Marchioness de St. Sebastian, whom Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, married, was not above madam de Maintenon, and the empress Catharine was greatly below her.

Madam de Maintenon was descended from a very ancient family; she was the grand daughter of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigne, gentleman in ordinary of the chamber to Henry IV. Her father Constantius d'Aubigne, being desirous to settle in Carolina, and having addressed himself to the English for that purpose, was imprisoned in the castle Trompette, and was delivered from thence by the daughter of the governor, called Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Constantius d'Aubigne married his benefactress in 1627, and took her with him to Carolina. At the end of some years, they returned to France, and were both, by an order from court, confined at Niort in Poitou. It was in this prison, in the year 1635, that Frances d'Aubigne, destined to experience all the cruelties and all the favours of fortune, was born: she was carried to America when an infant of three years

left by the carelessness of a servant on the
ore, was near being devoured there by a serpent,
s brought back an orphan at twelve years of age,
d was educated with the greatest severity by ma-
m de Neuillant, her relation, mother to the du-
efs de Nauailles. After all these hardships, she
as thought very happily disposed of, when, in
651, she married Paul Scarron, who lodged near
r in the street called Hall. Scarron was of an
tient family in the parliament, made illustrious
great alliances; but the burlesque, which he
ade his profession, lessened his character, though
gained him friends. It was, however, consider-
as a great acquisition for mademoiselle d'Aubigné
gain for a husband, a man, who was disfigured
y nature, impotent, and very little enriched by
fortune. Before her marriage she abjured Calvi-
sm, which was her religion and that of her an-
cestors. Her wit and beauty made her soon be di-
tinguished, and eagerly sought after by the best
company in Paris; and these days of her youth
were doubtless the happiest part of her life. After
the death of her husband, which happened in the
ear 1660, she was a long time a solicitor to the
ing for a small pension of fifteen hundred livres,
which Scarron had enjoyed. After some years, the
ing at last gave her two thousand, saying at the
me time, "Madam, I have made you wait a
long time; but you have so many friends, that
I was resolved to have this merit with you on my
own account.

This fact was told me by cardinal de Fleury,
who took a pleasure in often repeating it, because

he said Lewis XIV. had made him the same compliment when he gave him the bishopric of Frejus.

In 1671, the birth of the duke of Main, was not yet made public. The prince, who was now a year old, had a deformed foot; the first physician d' Aquin, who was in the secret, thought it necessary that the child should be sent to the waters of Barege. A person of fidelity was sought for, who would take the charge of such a trust; the king thought of madam Scarron; and Monsieur de Louvois went secretly to Paris to propose this journey to her. From that time she had the care of the duke of Main's education, and was named to this employment by the king, and not by madam de Montespan, as has been said: she wrote to the king immediately; her letters charmed him; and this was the origin of her fortune: her merit effected all the rest. The king bought her the lands of Maintenon in 1679, which was the only estate she ever had.

Her elevation was to her only a retreat: shut up in her apartment, which was upon the same floor with the king's, she confined herself to the society of two or three ladies as retired as herself, and even these she saw but seldom. The king came to her apartment every day after dinner, before and after supper, and continued there till midnight. Here he did business with his ministers, while madam de Maintenon employed herself at the same time in reading or needle work, never shewing any fondness for talking of state affairs, often seeming wholly ignorant of them, and carefully avoiding whatever had the least appearance of cabal and intrigue. She studied more to please him who go-

cerned, than to govern; and preserved her credit by never employing it but with the utmost circumspection. She did not make use of her power to give the greatest dignities and employments among her own relations. Her brother the count d'Au-
gigne, a lieutenant general of long standing, was not even made a marshal of France; a blue ribband and some private share in the farms of the revenue were all his fortune. He told the marshal de
Vivonne, the brother of madam de Montespan, that he had received the staff of marshal in ready money. It was rather a high fortune for the daughter of this count, to marry the duke de Noailles than an advantage to the duke. Two other nieces of Madam de Maintenon, the one married to the
marquis de Caylus, the other to the marquis de Villette, had scarce any thing. A small pension which Lewis XIV. gave to madam de Caylus, was almost all her fortune: and madam de Villette had little else besides expectations. This lady afterwards married the viscount Bolingbroke, famous for his ministry, his eloquence, and his disgrace. She has often told me, that she reproached her aunt for doing so little for her family; and that she had told her in her passion, "You take a pleasure in
" your moderation, and in seeing your family the
" victim of it." Madam de Maintenon submitted every thing to her fears of doing what might be contrary to the king's sentiments; she even dared not to support the cardinal de Noailles against father le Tellier. She had a great friendship for Racine, but had not courage enough to protect him against a slight resentment of the king's. One day,

moved with the eloquence with which he had described to her the people's miseries in 1698, miseries which, though always exaggerated, were since that time carried to a deplorable extremity, she desired her friend to draw up a memorial, which might at once shew the evil and the remedy; the king read it, and expressing some displeasure, she had the weakness to tell him the author, and that of not defending him: Racine, still weaker than her, felt an affliction for it, which caused his death.

The same natural disposition, which made her incapable of conferring benefits, prevented her also from doing injuries. The abbe de Choisi says that the minister Louvois threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. to hinder his marriage with Scarron's widow: if Choisi knew this circumstance, madam de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; yet she not only pardoned this minister, but pacified the king, whom the rough temper of the marquis de Louvois often threw into sudden fits of anger.

Lewis XIV. in marrying madam de Maintenon, acquired an agreeable and submissive companion. The only public distinction which made it believed she was married, was, that at mass she sat in one of the two little galleries or gilt domes, which appeared to be only designed for the king and queen: besides this she had not any exterior appearance of grandeur. That devotion with which she had inspired the king, and which she made use of to effect her marriage, by degrees became a sincere and settled disposition of mind, which age and affliction confirmed. She had already, with the king and the whole court, given herself the merit of a foundress, by assembling a great number of young wo-

men of quality at Noisi; and the king had already destined the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis for the maintenance of this rising community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park at Versailles in 1686. She then gave a form to this establishment, and together with Gadet Desmarets, bishop of Chartres, made the rules, and was herself superior of the convent. Thither she often went to pass away some hours: and when I say that melancholy determined her to these employments, I only speak her own words. We may read what she wrote to madam de la Maisonfort, of whom mention is made in the chapter of Quietism:

“ Why can I not give you my experience !
“ Why cannot I make you sensible of that uneasiness which preys upon the great, and the difficulty they labour under to employ their time !
“ Do not you see that I am dying with melancholy, in a height of fortune which once my imagination could scarce have conceived ? I have been young and beautiful, have had a high relish of pleasure, and have been the universal object of love. In a more advanced age, I have past years in intellectual pleasures: I have at last risen to favour: but I protest to you, my dear girl, that every one of these conditions leaves in the mind a dismal vacuity.”

If any thing could shew the vanity of ambition, it would certainly be this letter. Madam de Maintenon, who could have no other uneasiness than the uniformity of her manner of living with a great king, said once to the count d'Aubigne her brother, “ I can hold it no longer; I wish I was dead.”

The answer he made her is well known: *You have then a promise to marry the Almighty.*

When the king died, she retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is surprising is, that Lewis XIV. made no certain provision for her, and only recommended her to the duke of Orleans. She would accept of no more than an annual pension of eighty thousand livres, which was exactly paid her till her death, which happened the 15th of April 1719. In her epitaph, they too much affected to obliterate the name of Scarron. This name was no dishonour; and the omitting it only served to make it thought so.

The court, no less gay, and more serious after the king began to live a retired life with madam de Maintenon, and the considerable illness he had in 1686, contributed still more to make him lose the taste for feasts and gallantry, by which almost every year had been distinguished. He was seized with a fistula in the lower part of his intestines. Though the art of surgery had made greater progress here under this reign than in all the rest of Europe, this distemper was not yet well known. Cardinal Richlieu's death was occasioned by his being unskilfully treated in the same case. The king's danger alarmed all France: the churches were filled with innumerable crouds, who with tears in their eyes implored his cure from Heaven. This universal expression of tenderness, resembles that which happened in our days, when his successor was in danger of death at Metz in 1744. These two epochs will always teach kings what they owe to a nation that is capable of such affection.

When Lewis XIV. felt the first attacks of this

sease, Felix, his chief surgeon, went through all the hospitals to seek for patients in the same distemper: he consulted the best surgeons, and with their assistance invented instruments for shortening the operation, and making it less painful. The king endured it without complaining, and the same day made his ministers do business at his bed-side. And that the news of his danger might make no alteration in the courts of Europe, he gave audience the next day to the ambassadors. To this strength of mind was added, the magnanimity with which he rewarded Felix: he gave him an estate, which at that time was valued at more than fifty thousand crowns.

After this, the king went no more to public diversions. The Dauphiness of Bavaria, who grew melancholy, and was seized with a languishing illness, of which she died in 1690, denied herself all manner of diversions, and continued obstinately in her apartment. She was fond of letters, and had even written some verses; but in her melancholy she loved nothing but solitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr that revived the taste for works of genius. Madam de Maintenon intreated Racine, who had renounced the theatre for Jansenism and the court, to compose a tragedy fit to be played by these novices, and to take the subject from the Bible. Racine composed *Esther*. This piece, having been first represented at the house of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted several times at Versailles before the king, in the winter of 1689. The prelates and Jesuits eagerly desired to see this common piece. It appears to me very remarkable, that it had then universal success; and that two years

after, Athaliah, though performed by the same persons had none. It happened quite contrary when these pieces were played at Paris, long after the death of the author, and when partiality had ceased: Athaliah, represented in 1717, was received as it deserved, with transport; and Esther, in 1721, inspired nothing but coldness, and never appeared again. But at that time there were no courtiers who complaisantly acknowledged Esther in madam de Maintenon; and with equal malignity saw Vasthi in madam de Montespan; Haman in monsieur de Louvois; and above all, the persecution of the Huguenots by this minister, in the proscription of the Hebrews. The impartial public saw nothing in it but an uninteresting and improbable story: a stupid prince, who had lived six months with his wife without knowing what she was; who, without the least pretence for it, commanded a whole nation to be murdered; and, with as little reason, afterwards hanged his favourite. But notwithstanding the badness of the subject, thirty verses of Esther are of more value than many tragedies which have had great success. These ingenious amusements were revived for the education of Adelaïda of Savoy, duchess of Burgundy, who was brought into France at eleven years of age.

It is one of the contradictions in our manners, that as on one side there are some remains of infamy still annexed to all dramatic entertainments, so on the other, these representations are considered as the noblest and best amusements for persons of royal blood. A little theatre was erected in madam de Maintenon's apartment; and the duchess of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, and some other

persons about the court, who had the best talents for it, acted there. The famous actor Baron instructed them in their parts, and performed with them. Most of the tragedies of Duche, the king's valet de chambre, were composed for this theatre: and the abbot Genet, almoner to the duchess of Orleans, composed others for the duchess of Maine, which were performed by that princess and her court.

These diversions improved the mind, and enlivened conversation. How then could the marquis de la Fare say in his memoirs, *That after the death of Madame, there was nothing but gaming, confusion and impoliteness?* They gamed a good deal in the journeys to Marli and Fountainbleau, but never at madam de Maintenon's, and the court was at all times the model of the most perfect politeness: the duchess of Orleans, then duchess of Chartres, the duchess of Maine, the princess of Conti, and Madam the duchess, prove the contrary of what is advanced by the marquis de la Fare. This man, who was indulgent in the highest degree to those with whom he conversed, has written scarce any thing but satire. He was dissatisfied with the government, and passed his life in a society that made a merit of condemning the court: this society turned a most amiable man into an historian not strictly just.

Neither he, nor any of those who have censured Lewis XIV. with so much freedom, can deny that he was, to the day on which the battle of Hochstet was lost, unrivalled in power, in magnificence, and almost in every kind of greatness: for although there were heroes, such as John So-

bielky, and the kings of Sweden, who eclipsed him as a warrior, none ever eclipsed him as a monarch. It must be likewise confessed, that he supported his misfortunes, and repaired them. He had failings; he committed faults; but would those who condemn him have equalled him in the same situation.

The duchess of Burgundy increased daily both in merit and favour. The praises that were bestowed upon her sister in Spain, inspired her with an emulation, which redoubled her power of pleasing. She was not indeed a perfect beauty, but she had an aspect like her son, a fine person, and a noble air. These advantages were adorned by her wit, and still more by her extreme desire of meriting the good opinion of every body. Like Henrietta of England, she was the idol and the model of the court, but with a higher rank, for she stood next to the throne. France expected from the duke of Burgundy a government like that which the sages of antiquity have conceived, the austerity of which would be softened by the graces of this princess, which were better formed to reach the heart than the philosophy of her husband. The world knows how all the hopes were deceived. It was the fate of Lewis to see all his family perishing in France by untimely death: his wife at five and forty years of age, his only son at fifty; and in April 1712, a year after this loss, he saw his grandson the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the dauphiness his wife, and their eldest son the duke of Bretagne, carried in the same funeral car to St. Dennis, while the last of their children, who has since ascended the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The duke of Berry, brother to

the duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the same time, was carried from her cradle to her coffin.

These times of desolation left so deep an impression in the hearts of the people, that in the minority of Lewis XV. I have seen many persons who could not speak of these losses without tears. In the midst of so many sudden deaths, none seemed so much to deserve compassion as his who was nearest ascending the throne.

The same suspicions which the deaths of Madame, and of Maria Louisa, queen of Spain, had occasioned, now revived with a fury that had no example. The excess of the public sorrow might have been almost an excuse for such a calumny, if it had been excusable. It was madness to think, that any one had murdered so many of the royal family, and left that single person alive who alone had power to revenge them. The sickness which carried off the dauphin of Burgundy, his wife and son, was an epidemic purple fever. Above five hundred persons died of this disease in less than a month at Paris. The duke of Bourbon, grandson of the prince of Conde; the duke de la Trimouille; madam de la Vrilliere, and madam de Listena, were seized with it at court. The marquis de Gondrin, son of the duke d'Antin, died of it in two days; and his wife, afterwards countess de Toulouse, was at the point of death. This distemper ran through all France, and in Lorraine destroyed the elder brothers of Francis duke of Lorraine, ordained one day to be emperor, and to restore the house of Austria.

Nevertheless, a physician named Bouden, a man of pleasure, ignorant and bold, having uttered

these words: "We understand nothing of such diseases:" this was enough to set the calumny free from restraint.

A certain prince had a laboratory, and among other arts, studied chemistry. This was considered as a proof not to be contested. The public outcry was so terrible, one must have been a witness of it to have believed it. Many writings, and some wretched histories of Lewis XIV. would perpetuate these suspicions, if those who are truly informed did not take care to destroy them. I can venture to say, that as I have long been sensible of the injustice of mankind, I have taken great pains to know the truth. What follows has been often repeated to me by the marquis de Canillac, one of the honestest men in the kingdom, and intimately acquainted with the suspected prince, of whom he had afterwards much reason to complain. The marquis, in the midst of this public clamour, went to see him in his palace. He found him extended on the floor, shedding tears, and distracted with despair. His chemist Homberg ran to surrender himself prisoner at the Bastille; but they refused to receive him, without orders. The prince himself, (could it be believed?) in the excess of his sorrow, demanded to be put in prison, that his innocence might be cleared by judicial forms. His mother also requested the same cruel justification. The letter de cachet was made out, but not signed: and the marquis de Canillac alone, amidst these violent emotions, preserved moderation enough to be sensible of the consequences of such a desperate step. He prevailed upon the prince's mother to oppose this ignominious letter de cachet. The mo-

arch who granted it, and his nephew who demanded it, were both equally wretched.

Lewis in public suppressed his grief. He endeavoured to appear as usual: but in secret, the reflection of so many miseries pierced him to the heart, and threw him into convulsions. He was afflicted with all these domestic losses at the end of an unsuccessful war, before he was sure of peace, and at a time when famine desolated the kingdom; but he was never seen to sink a moment under his afflictions.

The rest of his life was very melancholy. The disorder of the finances, which it was not in his power to remedy, alienated people's hearts; and the entire confidence he reposed in father le Tellier, a man too violent, completed the disgust. One thing was very remarkable; the public, which pardoned him all his mistresses, could not forgive him his confessor. He lost in the three last years of his life, in the opinion of most of his subjects, all that he had done great or memorable.

Deprived of almost all his children, his fondness for the duke of Maine and the count de Toulouse, his natural sons, redoubled, and induced him, in 1715, to give them the rights, honour, rank and name of princes of the blood, by an edict which was registered without any remonstrance. By this edict he confirmed the crown to their families, on failure of all the princes of the blood of France, thus moderating by the natural law, the severity of positive laws, which deprive children born out of marriage of all right to paternal succession. Kings dispense with that law. He ima-

gined that he might do for his own blood what he had done for several of his subjects; at least, that he might carry in favour of two of his children what had passed the parliament without opposition for the princes of the house of Lorrain. However murmurs were raised. The suit that was afterwards commenced by the princes of the blood against the legitimated princes, is well known. They have however preserved to themselves and their children the honours given them by Lewis. The fate of their posterity must depend upon time, upon merit, and upon fortune.

Lewis XIV. at his return from Marli about the middle of August 1715, was seized with that illness which ended his days. His legs swelled, and a mortification began to shew itself. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, laid a wager, according to the custom of his country, that the king would not live out the month of September. The duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had been absolutely alone, was now surrounded by all the court. An empyric, in the last days of the king's illness, gave him an elixir which restored his strength: he eat, and the quack affirmed he would cure him. The croud which had encircled the duke of Orleans instantly disappeared. "If the king eats a second time," said the duke, "we shall have no-body with us. The disease, however, was mortal. Measures were taken to give the regency, with absolute authority, to the duke of Orleans. The king, by his last will, deposited in parliament, had left it him under great limitations, or rather placed him only at the head of the council of regency, in which he was only

to have the casting voice. Yet he told him, *I have secured to you all the rights given you by your birth.* He did not think that there was a fundamental law, which gave the presumptive heir to the crown an unlimited power during a minority. This supreme authority, which may be abused, is dangerous: but divided power is yet more so. He imagined, that having been so well obeyed in his life, he should be equally absolute after his death, and forgot that the will of his father had been disregarded.

It is generally known with what greatness of soul he beheld the approach of death. *I thought,* said he to madam de Maintenon, *it more difficult to die.* To his domestics he said, *Why do you weep? did you believe me immortal?* He gave orders with great tranquillity concerning many things, even for his funeral solemnity. Whoever has many witnesses of his death always dies with courage. Lewis XIII. in his last illness, had set the *de profundis* to music, which was to be sung at his funeral. The greatness of soul with which Lewis XIV. approached his last moments, was divested of that ostentation diffused over his whole life; and he carried this so far as even to confess his faults. His successor has always preserved in writing, at the head of his bed, the remarkable words this monarch said to him, holding him between his arms as he lay in his bed. They are not such as have been related in all the histories. The following is a faithful copy of them: "You are soon going to be king over a great kingdom: what I most earnestly recommend to you is, never to forget the obligations you have to God: remember that it

“ is to him you owe every thing. Endeavour
“ preserve peace with your neighbours: I have
“ been too fond of war: imitate me not in that
“ no more than in my too great expences. Take
“ advice in all things; and endeavour to distinguish
“ the best, that you may always follow it. Re-
“ lieve your people as soon as you can, and do
“ what I have had the misfortune not to be
“ able to do myself.”

It is probable that these words did not a little contribute towards that peace which, thirty years after, Lewis XV. gave to all his enemies. We then saw a victorious king restore all he had conquered, to keep his word, re-establish all his allies, and become the arbitrator of Europe, more by his disinterestedness than his victories.

Although both the life and death of Lewis XIV. were glorious, he was not regretted so much as he deserved. The love of novelty; the approach of a minority, wherein every one promised himself a fortune; the affair of the constitution, which exasperated peoples minds, all contributed to make the news of his death be received with sentiments which went farther than indifference. The same people who in 1686 begged of heaven with tears the king's recovery, followed his funeral pomp with very different expressions. It is pretended, that the queen his mother said to him one day when he was very young, “ My son, endeavour to be like your
“ grandfather, and not like your father.” The king having asked her the reason, “ It is, said she,
“ because that at the death of Henry IV. the people wept, and laughed at that of Lewis XIII.” However this might be, it appears that time, which

atures the opinions of men, has stamped its seal upon his reputation; and notwithstanding all that has been writ against him, his name will never be pronounced without respect, nor without reviving the idea of an age for ever memorable.

If we consider him in his private life, we see him a good son, without being governed by his mother; a good husband, even without being faithful; a good father, a good master, and always amiable with dignity.

I have already observed in another † place, that he never spoke those words which have been imputed to him, when the first gentleman of his chamber and the grand master of his wardrobe disputed with each other for the honour of serving him; *What does it signify which of my valets serve me?* Such coarse language could never proceed from a person so polite and so attentive to his behaviour; and does not agree with what he said to him one day concerning his debts; *Why do not you speak to your friends.* This was an expression of a very different kind, and was of itself of great value; but was accompanied with a present of fifty thousand crowns: it is not even true that he wrote to the duke de Rochefoucault, "I make you my compliments as your friend, upon the employment of great master of the wardrobe, which I give you as your king." Historians have praised him for this letter, not perceiving how indelicate, and even how harsh it is to

† All this is taken from anecdotes printed among the miscellanies of the same author, and founded upon this history.

tell one that he is his master, although he is so. This might have been proper in a letter to a rebellious subject, and might have been said by Henry IV. to the duke of Maienne, before they were wholly reconciled. Rose, the secretary of the privy council, wrote this letter, and the king had too just a taste to suffer it to be sent. It was this justness of taste that made him suppress the vain-glorious inscriptions, which Charpentier, of the French academy, had put on the pictures of le Brun in the gallery at Versailles; such as *the incredible passage of the Rhine, the wonderful conquest of Valenciennes*, etc. The king was sensible, that to say only, *the taking of Valenciennes, the passage of the Rhine*, expressed enough. Charpentier was in the right to adorn the monuments of our own country with inscriptions in our own language. The only fault was flattery in the execution.

Some answers and sayings of this prince have been collected, which amount to little. It was said, that when he had resolved to abolish Calvinism in France, he said, "My grandfather loved the Huguenots, and did not fear them; my father feared them, but did not love them; as for me, I neither love them nor fear them." He always expressed himself nobly, and with great exactness, studying to speak as well as to act in public like a sovereign. When the duke of Anjou went to reign in Spain, the king, to express the union which was from that time to join the two nations, said to him; "Remember there are now no Pyrenees."

Lewis XIV. had more dignity and exactness than sprightliness in his genius. A king should, indeed,

rather do than say memorable things. Whoever is in an exalted station, should suffer no person to leave their presence discontented, and should make themselves agreeable to all those who approach them. It is not possible to confer favours every moment; but it is always easy to say things which please: this Lewis XIV. had happily made habitual to him. Between him and his court there was a constant interchange of all the graciousness which majesty could shew, without being degraded; and all the arts which eagerness to serve, and solicitude to please, could produce, without meanness. With the women particularly he had a delicacy and politeness, which still more increased that of his courtiers; and with the men he never lost an opportunity of saying those things which flatter self-love, excite emulation, and which make a deep impression.

The duchess of Burgundy, when she was very young, seeing an officer at supper who was extremely ugly, was very loud in her ridicule of his person. "Madam," said the king to her, still louder, "I think him one of the handsomest men in my kingdom; for he is one of the bravest."

The count de Marivaux, a lieutenant-general, one whose manners were a little brutal, and who had not corrected them even in the court of Lewis XIV. had lost an arm in an action, and complained to the king, who had however recompensed him as much as the loss of an arm can be recompensed: I wish, said he, that I had lost the other, that I might serve your majesty no more. "I should then be sorry," said Lewis, "both for you and for myself." These words were followed by

the grant of a favour. He was so far from saying disagreeable things, which are mortal wounds from the mouth of a prince, that he did not allow himself even the gentlest and most harmless raillery while private persons every day practise the most mischievous and cruel.

He had skill and took a pleasure in little pieces of wit, in extemporary sallies and songs; and sometimes occasionally made little parodies upon the songs in fashion; such as this:

*Chez mon cadet de frere,
Le chancelier serrant
N'est pas trop necessaire;
Et le sage boifrand
Est celui qui sait plaire.*

And this, which he made one day as he left his council:

*Le conseil a ses yeux a beau se presenter;
Sitot qu'il voit sa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle:
Rien ne peut l'arreter,
Quand la chasse l'appelle.*

The council presents itself to him in vain,
If he once sees his dog he'll no longer remain:
Affairs of ev'ry kind must yield,
The chase now calls him to the field.

These trifles serve at least to show, that intellectual amusements made one of the pleasures of his court, that he entered into these pleasures himself, and that he knew how to act the man in his private

character, as well as the monarch, upon the theatre of the world.

His letter to the arch-bishop of Rheims, concerning the marquis de Barbesieux, although written by a stile extremely negligent, does more honour to his character, than the most ingenious thoughts could have done to his wit. He had given this young man, the post of secretary of war, which the marquis de Louvois his father had enjoyed. Being soon disgusted at the behaviour of his new secretary, he was desirous to correct him without mortifying him too much. With this view, he addressed himself to his uncle the arch-bishop of Rheims: he intreated him to advise his nephew; he speaks like a master informed of every thing, and with the tenderness of a father.

“ I know, said he, what I owe to the memory of Louvois, but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, I shall be forced to do what I shall be sorry for; but it will be necessary. He has talents, but he does not make a good use of them; he entertains the princes too often at supper, instead of doing business; he neglects the public affairs for his pleasures, makes the officers wait too long in his anti-chamber, and speaks to them haughtily, and some times harshly.” This is all that my memory furnishes me with of this letter, the original of which I have formerly seen: it proves plainly, that Lewis was not governed by his ministers, as has been believed, but that he knew how to govern them.

He loved praises, and it is to be wished that a prince may love them, because he will then endeavour to deserve them: but Lewis XIV. would not

always approve them, when they were too gross. When our academy, which always gave him an account of the subjects they proposed for their prizes, shewed him this : *Which of all the virtues of the king merits the preference ?* the king blushed, and would not suffer such a subject to be treated. He permitted the prologues of Quinault, but this was when his glory was greatest, at a time when his vanity might be excused by that of the nation. Virgil and Horace, through gratitude; and Ovid, through a despicable meanness, lavished on Augustus, praises still more gross, and if we think on the proscriptions, more undeserved.

The duke d'Antin distinguished himself in this age by a very singular art, which consisted in not saying agreeable things, but in doing them. The king went to lye at Petit-bourg, and found fault with a large walk of trees, which concealed the river from view; the duke d'Antin caused them all to be cut down in the night. The king, on his awaking was surpris'd that he no longer saw the trees he had disliked : " It is because your majesty " has condemned them, that they are seen no " more," replied the duke.

We have related in another place, that the same duke observing a large wood at the end of the canal at Fountainbleau, was not agreeable to the king, he in the minute when the king went out to take a walk, having every thing prepared before, ordered the wood to be cut down, and instantly all the trees fell together. This behaviour shewed the ingenious courtier, rather than the flatterer.

Lewis XIV. has been accused of an insupportable pride; because the basis of his statues in the square

des Victoires, and that of Vendome, are surrounded with slaves in chains: but it was not him who caused those statues to be erected. That of the square *des Victoires* is a monument of the greatness of soul, and the gratitude of the first marshal de la *France* to his master. He expended in it five hundred thousand livres, which makes near a million at present, and the city doubled this sum to make the square regular. I have been always disgusted at the injustice done to Lewis XIV. in imputing to him the pride of this statue, and at the negligence shewn in not doing justice to the generosity of the marshal.

They were only considered as four slaves, but they expressed the vices he subdued, rather than the nations be conquered: duelling abolished by him, and heresy destroyed: and the inscriptions sufficiently prove this. They also celebrate the union of the seas and the peace of Nimeguen, and speak of nothing but benevolent actions; nor has one of these slaves any thing that characterises the people conquered by Lewis XIV: besides, it is an ancient custom in sculptures, to put slaves at the feet of the statues of kings. It would be better indeed, if they represented free and happy citizens there; but slaves may be seen at the feet of the good Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. at Paris; they are also to be seen at Leghorn, under the feet of Ferdinand de Medicis, who certainly never enslaved any nation, and at Berlin, under the statue of an elector who repulsed the Swedes, but never gained any conquests.

The neighbours of the French, as well as themselves, have with great injustice made Lewis XIV.

answerable for this custom; the inscription, *in immortalis*, to the immortal man, has been accused of idolatry, as if it signified any thing but the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani on his house at Florence,

Aedes a Deo datae,

A house given by God,

may be considered as more idolatrous: but it is only an allusion to the surname of Deodatus, (*God's gift*,) and to the verse of Virgil, *Deus nobis haec otia fecit*.

With respect to the statue in the square of Vendome, it was the city which erected it. The king had destined the buildings of this square for his public library. The square was very large, and had at first three fronts; which were those of an immense palace, the walls of which were already built, when the public misfortunes in 1701, obliged the city to build houses for private persons upon the ruins of this unfinished palace: for the same reason the Louvre was never finished: and the fountain and obelisk, which Colbert intended to raise over-against the gate of Perrault, have never appeared but in a drawing. This was the cause why the beautiful gate of St. Gervais remained unfinished, and that most of the monuments of Paris cannot be regarded but with regret.

The nation was desirous that Lewis XIV. should prefer his Louvre and his capital to Versailles, which the duke de Crequi called a favourite without merit. Posterity admires with gratitude the great

ings he has done for the public: but we censure as well as admire, when we see the grandeur and defects of his palace in the country.

From what we have related, it appears, that Lewis XIV. in every thing loved grandeur and glory. A prince who should do as great things as Lewis XIV. and should still continue modest, would be the first of kings, and Lewis XIV. the second.

If on his death-bed he repented of having for so many reasons engaged in war, it must be confessed that he did not judge by the events of them: for all his wars, the most just and indispensable as that of 1701, and that alone was unsuccessful.

By his marriage, besides the dauphin, he had two sons and three daughters, who all died in their infancy. His amours were more happy: only two of his natural children died in the cradle; eight others lived, were legitimated, and five had posterity. Besides these, he had a daughter, whom he did not acknowledge, by a young woman belonging to madam de Montespan. This daughter he married to de la Queue, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Versailles. A nun of the convent of Moret was with great probability suspected to be his daughter: she was extremely brown, and in other respects resembled him. The king, when he placed her in this convent, gave her twenty thousand crowns. The notion she had of her birth inspired her with a haughtiness, of which her superiors complained. Madam de Maintenon, in a journey to Fountainbleau, called at the convent of Moret,

and being desirous to make this nun more moderate she did what she could to make her abandon the opinion which caused her pride. "Madam," said the nun to her, "the trouble a lady of your high rank has taken to come hither on purpose to tell me I am not the king's daughter, convinces me that I am." The convent of Moret still remembers this anecdote.

So many particularities may perhaps disgust the philosophical reader; but curiosity, that weakness so common to mankind, deserves a higher name when it is employed upon times and persons which posterity regards with respect and admiration.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Interior GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE,
Laws, POLICE, Military DISCIPLINE,
MARINE, etc.

WE ought, in justice to those men in a public station, who have done service to the age in which they lived, to consider the state of things at the time when they obtained the direction of affairs, that we may be the better able to form a true judgment of the improvements which they have made in their country: and posterity is for ever obliged to them for the examples which they have given, even though they should be surpassed by others. The glory which they justly receive from hence is their only recompence. It is certain, that

love of this glory animated Lewis XIV. and at the time when he began to govern alone, made him desirous to reform his kingdom, adorn his court, and bring the arts to a degree of perfection. He not only imposed it upon himself as a duty to do business regularly with each of his ministers, but every person of character might obtain audience of him; and all his subjects had the liberty to present to him both their petitions and projects. The petitions were received by a master of requests, who returned them with his remarks; they were afterwards sent to the ministers. Projects, when they were such as deserved consideration, were examined in council, and their authors were frequently admitted to discuss their schemes with the ministers in the king's presence. And thus, notwithstanding the despotic power of the prince, a correspondence subsisted between the throne and the people.

Lewis XIV. formed and accustomed himself to labour; and this labour was so much the more painful, as it was new to him, and because he might easily have been seduced by the allurements of pleasure. He wrote the first dispatches to his ambassadors himself: he frequently wrote down the substance of the most important letters with his own hand; and none were ever written in his name without being read to him.

Colbert, after the removal of Fouquet, had scarce restored order in the finances, when the king discharged all those taxes which were owing to him from the year 1647 to 1656; particularly three millions of the land tax. The subject was also re-

lieved from many burdensome taxes, in lieu of the sum of five hundred thousand crowns paid annually: and it appears from hence, that the abbé de Choisi was either misinformed, or very unjust in his assertion, that the taxes were not diminished; for it is certain that they were diminished by the discharges, though by the good order which was introduced, the revenue was augmented.

The establishment of the general hospital was owing to the care of the first president, de Bellievre, aided by the liberality of the duchess d'Aiguillon, and several citizens: and this establishment was augmented by the king; who also caused others of the same kind to be erected in all the principal cities in the kingdom.

The great roads, which till then had been almost impassable, were no longer suffered to be neglected; and, by degrees, they became what they now are under Lewis XV. the admiration of all foreigners. Go out of Paris which way you will now, you may travel near forty leagues on well paved walks, bordered with trees: and though the antient Roman ways were more durable, they were not more spacious or more beautiful.

Colbert applied his genius more particularly to commerce, which was but weakly cultivated, and the first principles of which were unknown. The English, but more especially the Dutch, carried on almost the whole commerce of France in their ships; the Dutch in particular loaded their vessels with our commodities, and retailed them all over Europe. But the king, in 1662, began to exempt his subjects from an impost, called the right of freight paid by all foreign vessels; and he en-

led them to transport their merchandizes themselves at a less expence, which made our maritime commerce soon begin to increase. The council of commerce, which still subsists, was then established; and the king presided in it every fifteen days.

Dunkirk and Marseilles were declared free ports; and this privilege soon drew the commerce of the Levant to Marseilles, and that of the North to Dunkirk.

A West-India company was formed in 1664; and also one for the East-Indies the same year. Till then, the luxury of France had been tributary to the industry of Holland. The timid, ignorant, and narrow-thoughted partizans of the old oeconomy, in vain declaimed against a commerce, wherein money, which is permanent, was continually exchanged for goods, which are perishable. They did not consider, that these India commodities, being become necessary, would have been purchased of foreigners at a higher price. It is true, that more money is carried to the East-Indies than is brought from thence, and that Europe is impoverished by this commerce: but then this comes from Peru and Mexico; it is the price of our commodities, which are transported from Cadiz thither; and more of this money remains in France, than is absorbed by the East-Indies.

The king gave more than six millions of our present money to this company, and excited persons of fortune to engage in it. The queens, the princes, and the whole court furnished two millions of the money of account of that time. The superior courts furnished twelve hundred thousand

livres, the financiers two millions, the body of merchants, six hundred and fifty thousand livres in fine, the whole nation imitated the example of their king.

This company has constantly subsisted, ever since that time: for though the Dutch took Pondicherry in 1694, after which the commerce of the East-Indies declined; yet in our days, this commerce has revived with greater vigour. Pondicherry is become the rival of Batavia; and this Indian company, which was with great difficulty founded by the indefatigable labour of the great Colbert, being revived in our time, through some very extraordinary revolutions, is now become one of the greatest resources of the kingdom. The king afterwards formed a northern company in 1669, and established funds for its support, in the same manner as for the Indies. It evidently appeared then, that commerce was not dishonourable: for the monarch himself, and the greatest of his nobles, in imitation of his example, interested themselves in its establishment.

The West-India company was not less encouraged than the others: and of all the funds the king furnished the tenth.

He granted a bounty of thirty franks per ton, upon exportation, and forty upon importation: and whoever built ships, in any of the ports of the kingdom, received five livres for every ton which their vessels were capable to carry.

We cannot help being surprized, that the abbe de Choisi should condemn these establishments in his memoirs, which should be read with diffidence. We are now perfectly sensible of what the minister

Albert did for the good of the kingdom: but then
 they knew it not. He laboured for the ungrateful;
 and such an animosity was raised against him in
 Paris, for the suppression of some annuity upon
 the Hotel de Ville, which has been acquired at a
 small price since the year 1656, and for the discre-
 tion into which the exchequer orders fell, by their
 having been lavished under the preceding ministry,
 that all the good which he did to the public in
 general could not counterbalance. There were
 more cits than good citizens; few persons extend-
 ed their views so far as the public good. No one
 ignorant, how much private interest fascinates
 the eyes, misleads the understanding, and obstructs
 the interest, not only of a beginner in trade, but of
 a company, and even a whole city. The coarse
 reply made by a merchant named Hazon (who be-
 ing consulted by this minister, said: *You found the
 machine overturned on one side, and you have over-
 turned it on the other,*) was cited with applause
 when I was young; and this anecdote may be still
 found in Moreri. That philosophical spirit which
 was at last introduced into France, corrected the
 vulgar prejudices, and perfect justice was at last
 done to the memory of this great man. He had
 the same regularity as the duke de Sully, and his
 views were much more extensive. The former
 was skilled only in oeconomy; the latter was the
 founder of very great and useful establishments.

Almost every thing was either repaired or created
 anew in his time. The reduction of interest in
 1665, demonstrated the largeness of our circula-
 tion. Lewis XIV. was desirous to render his king-
 dom richer and more populous: to effect this, mar-

riages in the provinces were encouraged, by exempting all those who should marry at the age of twenty, from paying any taxes for the space of five years: and every father of a family, having ten children, was exempted for his whole life, because he contributed more to the state, by his children's labour, than he could have done by paying the tax. This rule ought to have been for ever observed without alteration.

From the year 1663, to 1672, every year of his ministry was distinguished by the establishment of some manufacture. Fine clothes, which before had been purchased of the English and Dutch, were made at Abbeville. The king advanced two thousand livres to the manufacturer, for every loom which he employed, besides other considerable gratifications. In 1669, it was computed, that forty four thousand and two hundred men were employed in manufacturing of wool. The manufactures of silk being brought to great perfection, produced a commerce of more than fifty millions of that time; and the profit arising from it, was not only greatly superior to the purchase of the necessary silk; but by the culture of silk-worms, the manufacturers were enabled to do without foreign silk, for the chain of their stuffs.

In the year 1666, as fine glasses began to be made as those of Venice, which till then had constantly furnished all Europe; and they were soon after made of a size and beauty superior to any made elsewhere. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were surpassed in the *Savonnerie*; and the tapestries of Flanders were exceeded by those manufactured at the *Gobelins*. This vast inclosure called

the *Gobelins*, was at that time filled with upwards of eight hundred workmen, of which three hundred were lodged in the place. The works were directed by the best painters, either after their own designs, or those of the old Italian masters: and besides the tapestries, many curious kinds of Mosaic works were made, and the art of inlaying was brought to perfection.

Another manufacture of tapestries besides this of the *Gobelins*, was also established at Beauvais; the manager of which had the direction of six hundred workmen, and he received a present from the king of sixty thousand livres.

Sixteen hundred women and girls were employed in making laces: thirty of the most skilful of whom, were brought from Venice, and two hundred out of Flanders; and they were encouraged by a present of thirty six thousand livres.

The manufacture at Sedan for cloth, and that of tapestries at d' Aubusson, which were in a declining state, were restored.

The ministry purchased in England the secret of that ingenious machine, by means of which stockings are made, ten times quicker than by the knitting needles. Tin, steel, fine earthen-wares, Morocco leather, which had always been brought from abroad, were made at home. But certain Calvinists, who were possessed of the secret of tin and steel, carried it out of the kingdom with them in 1686, and communicated it to other nations.

The king every year purchased some of all the finest of these manufactures, to the amount of about four hundred thousand livres; of which he made presents.

The city of Paris was then greatly inferior to what it is now; it was neither well lighted, guarded, nor cleaned: necessary funds were wanted for the continual cleaning of the streets, for the illumination formed every night by five thousand lamps for paving the whole city, for building two new gates, repairing the old ones, and for establishing a continual watch, both of horse and foot for the security of the city. The king took the care of all this, and established funds to defray the necessary expences. In 1667, he created a magistrate whose sole duty was to preside over the civil government of the city. Most of the great cities of Europe have scarce imitated these examples till long after, and none have equalled them. There is not a city paved so well as Paris, and Rome itself is not lighted at all.

All things advanced to such perfection, that the second of the lieutenants of the police of Paris acquired in that post a reputation, which placed him in the rank of those who have done honour to this age: he was indeed a man whose genius was capable of every thing. He was afterwards in the ministry, and would have made a good commander in the army. The place of lieutenant of the police was beneath his birth and merit; nevertheless, he gained greater reputation in it, than in the short and confined ministry which he obtained towards the end of his life.

It may be proper here to observe, that monsieur d'Argenson was by no means the only person of the antient nobility, who acted as a magistrate. France is almost the only kingdom in Europe, in which the antient nobility have frequently appeared

the long robe: almost all the other nations, through a remainder of Gothic barbarity, seem still to be ignorant of the dignity of this profession.

The king, from the year 1661, constantly carried on his buildings at the Louvre, St. Germain, and Versailles; and private persons, in imitation of his example, raised a thousand beautiful and commodious edifices in Paris; the number of which was so prodigiously increased, that adjacent to the palace royal, and St. Sulpicius, two new cities were formed in Paris, greatly superior to the old. Magnificent coaches, adorned with fine glasses, and hung in the most easy manner by springs, were then invented; so that a citizen of Paris might go about his great city with more pomp, and luxury, than was displayed by the first Romans when they went in triumph to the capitol. The custom, which was first begun in Paris, was soon introduced into all the nations of Europe, and becoming common, is now no longer considered as luxury.

Lewis XIV. had a taste for architecture, gardening and sculpture: and his taste in all these was great and noble. In 1664, when the comptroller general Colbert obtained the direction of the buildings, which is properly the direction of the arts, he applied himself to second his master's designs. The first work necessary to be done, was to finish the Louvre. Francis Mansard, one of the greatest architects France ever had, was chosen to construct the vast edifices which were projected; but he refused the employ, unless he might have liberty to do over again what should appear to him defective in the execution. This diffidence of himself, which might have occasioned great expences,

caused him to be excluded; and the chevalier Bernini was sent for from Rome: his name was celebrated for the colonnade which surrounds the court before the porch of St. Peter's church, for the equestrian statue of Constantine, and for the Navona fountain. He was furnished with equipages for his journey, and was conducted to Paris as a person who came to do honour to the kingdom. Besides five louis d'ors a-day, which were paid him during the eight months he stayed in France, he received a present of fifty thousand crowns, a pension of two thousand crowns, and one of five hundred for his son. This generosity of Lewis XIV. to Bernini, was greater even than that of Francis I. to Raphael. Bernini, through a principle of gratitude, afterwards made the equestrian statue of the king at Rome, which is still to be seen at Versailles. Upon his arrival at Paris with so much ceremony, as the only person worthy to be employed by Lewis XIV.; he was greatly surprised to see the design of the front of the Louvre, on the side of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which became soon after, in the execution, one of the most august monuments of architecture in the world. The design had been made by Claudius Perrault, and was executed by Lewis le Vau and d'Orbay. He also invented the machines by which to convey those stones of fifty two feet in length, of which the front of this majestic edifice is formed. We sometimes go a great way in search of what we have at home. There is not one of the palaces at Rome, whose entrance is comparable to this of the Louvre; for which we are obliged to this Perrault, whom Boileau attempted to turn into ridicule. Those which are so celebrated,

are not, by the general voice of travellers, superior to the castle of Maisons, which Francis Mansard built at so small an expence. Bernini was magnificently rewarded though he did not deserve it; for he only gave designs which were never executed.

The king, at the same time when he carried on the works at the Louvre, the completion of which was so ardently desired, when he was building a city at Versailles, near that castle which has cost so many millions, when he was building Trianon, Marli, and embellishing so many other edifices; also completed the observatory, which had been commenced in 1666, at the time when he established the academy of sciences. But the monument which for its usefulness, greatness, and difficulty, is the most glorious, was the canal of Languedoc, which joins the two seas, and falls into the port of Cette, constructed purposely to receive its waters. All these works were commenced in 1664, and they were continued without interruption to 1681. The foundation of the invalids, and the chapel of that building, which is the most beautiful in all Paris; and the establishment of St. Cyr, which is the last of the numerous works erected by this monarch, are alone sufficient to render his name revered. Four thousand soldiers and a great number of officers, who in one of these great asylums find comfort in their old-age, and relief for their wounds and their wants; two hundred and fifty female children of noble parents, who in the other receive an education suitable to their birth, are so many voices which celebrate the name

of Lewis XIV. The establishment of St. Cyr will be surpassed by that which Lewis XV. is forming for the education of five hundred gentlemen; but this, instead of obliterating the memory of St. Cyr, revives it. It is the art of doing good which is brought to perfection.

Lewis XIV. was at the same time desirous to do things of greater and more general use; but the execution of which was more difficult. He wished to reform the laws, and directed the chancellor Seguier, Lamoignon, Talon, Bignon, and more particularly the counsellor of state Poufort, to use their endeavours for this purpose. He presided sometimes in their assemblies, and the year 1667, was at once the epocha of his first laws and his first conquests. The civil ordinance appeared first, then the laws of the waters and forests, then the statutes for all manufactures, the criminal ordinance, the commercial code, that for the marine: all these succeeded one another annually. There was even a new jurisprudence established in favour of the Negroes of our colonies; a kind of men, who had not before enjoyed the rights of humanity.

A profound knowledge in the laws is not to be acquired by a sovereign. But the king being instructed in the principal, he possessed the spirit of them, and knew when to execute or restrain them properly. He frequently judged the causes of his subjects, not only in the council of the secretaries of state, but in that which is called the council of parties. We have two celebrated judgments of his, wherein he decided against himself.

The first was a cause in 1680, between him and certain inhabitants of Paris, who had built up

on his ground. He gave sentence in their favour, by adjudging the houses to remain in their possession, together with his ground, which he gave to them.

The other was concerning a Persian named Roupli, whose merchandizes had been seized by the king's officers in 1687. He ordered every thing to be restored to him, and made him a present of three thousand crowns. Roupli carried his admiration and gratitude into his own country. And when the Persian ambassador, Mehemet Rizabeg, was at Paris, we found that the fame of this action had reached his ears long before.

The abolition of duelling was one of the greatest services done to the nation. These combats had formerly been authorised by our kings, by the parliament itself, and even by the church; and though they had been forbid since the reign of Henry IV. this barbarous custom continued to be more common than ever. The famous duel of the la Frettes, of four against four, in 1663, determined Lewis XIV. no longer to suffer them. His reasonable severity, by degrees, corrected not only his own kingdom, but even his neighbours, who conformed to this good example, after having long imitated our bad ones. Duels in Europe are a hundred times less common now, than under the reign of Lewis XIII.

He was the legislator both of his people and armies. It is strange, that before his time, we had no notion of uniformity in clothing the troops. It was he, who in the first year of his administration, ordered each regiment to be distinguished by the colour of its clothing, or other different marks;

and this regulation was soon followed by all other nations. He it was, who instituted brigadiers, and introduced those regulations into his household troops, which still continue. He made a company of musqueteers of cardinal Mazarin's guards, and fixed the number of men at five hundred in the two companies, to which he gave the uniform which they still wear.

Under his reign the office of Constable was taken away, and after the death of the duke d'Epemon, there were no more colonel-generals of the infantry: their power approached too near to that which Lewis XIV. was desirous of and ought to have himself. The marshal de Grammon, who was only camp master of the French guards under the duke d'Epemon, and took his orders from this colonel-general, no longer took them from any but the king, and was the first who had the title of colonel of the guards. He made these colonels himself at the head of their own regiment, by giving them with his own hand a gilt gorget and pike, and a spontoon when the use of pikes was abolished. He instituted the grenadiers, at first only to the number of four in each company in the king's regiment, which was of his own creation: afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each of the regiments of infantry, and two in the French guards, which now have three. He greatly augmented the dragoons, and gave them a colonel-general. We cannot here omit to mention the establishment for breeding of horses in 1667, which had been absolutely neglected before, and were of the greatest service in remounting the cavalry.

The use of the bayonet at the end of the mus-

quet was introduced by him. It was sometimes used before, but this was only in a few companies, and not with regularity. Its use was entirely at the will of the general, and pikes were considered as the most formidable weapon. The first regiment which had bayonets, and were exercised in the use of them, was that of the fusiliers, established in 1671.

The manner in which the artillery is now served is entirely owing to him. He instituted academies for it at Douai, and afterwards at Metz, and Strasbourg: and the regiment of artillery was at last filled with officers who were almost all capable to conduct a siege. All the magazines of the kingdom were stored, and were annually furnished with eight hundred thousand pounds of powder. He formed a regiment of bombardiers and another of hussars; before his time, hussars were entirely unknown, except among the troops of our enemies.

In 1688, he established thirty regiments of militia, which were raised and equipped by the communities, and were practised in the military exercise, at times when it would not retard their cultivation of the land.

Companies of cadets were maintained in most of the frontier towns, where they were taught the mathematics, drawing, and all the exercise; and did the duty of soldiers. But this continued only ten years; for the difficulty of bringing such a number of youth under discipline at last destroyed the institution. But the corps of engineers which the king formed, and to which he gave rules, which it still observes, will always continue. The art of

fortifying towns was brought to perfection under his reign by the marshal de Vauban and his pupils, who surpassed count Pagan. He either constructed or repaired the fortifications of a hundred and fifty towns.

To maintain military discipline, he appointed inspectors-general, and afterwards directors, whose duty was to review, and give an account of the troops: and from their reports it appeared, whether the military commissioners had done their duty.

He instituted the order of St. Lewis, an honour which is frequently more desired than pecuniary rewards. The hospital for invalids completed his endeavours to deserve the being well served.

It was owing to these regulations, that in the year 1672 he had one hundred and eighty thousand regular troops, which he continued to augment, in proportion as the number and power of his enemies increased, till at last he had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including marines.

Such numerous armies had never before been seen. His enemies opposed him with troops which were almost as numerous; but they were not so strongly united: he shewed what France alone could do; and he had always either great successes, or great resources.

The same care which he took to form numerous and well-disciplined land armies, even before he was engaged in war, he also shewed in gaining the dominion of the sea. The few ships which cardinal Mazarin had suffered to rot in the ports, were immediately repaired; others were purchased in Holland and Sweden; and in the third year of his government he made trial of his maritime forces at Gi-

geri upon the coast of Africa. The duke of Beaufort cleared the seas of pirates in the year 1665; and two years after France had sixty ships of war in its ports. And though this was only a beginning, yet these new regulations and efforts inspired Lewis XIV. with such a sense of his increasing power, that he would not suffer his ships to lower their flag before those of England. The council of king Charles II. in vain insisted upon this right, which force, industry and time had given to the English. Lewis XIV. wrote to his ambassador, the count d'Estrade, to this effect: "The king of England and his chancellor may see my strength, but they do not see my heart. I regard my honour more than all other things."

He said no more than what he was resolved to make good: in consequence of which, the English usurpation submitted to the natural right and resolution of Lewis XIV: an exact equality was observed in every thing at sea between the two nations. But while Lewis thus insisted upon an equality with England, he maintained his superiority in regard to Spain, and obliged the Spanish admirals to lower their flag before his, in virtue of the solemn precedence granted in 1662.

In the mean time, efforts were every where used for the establishment of such a naval force, as might justify these high sentiments. The town and port of Rochefort was built at the mouth of the Charente. The sailors, which were to serve sometimes in the merchant-ships, and sometimes in the royal fleets, were registered and classed, and soon amounted to sixty thousand men.

Councils were established in the ports, to give

directions for building ships in the most advantageous manner. Five marine arsenals were erected at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre-de-grace. In the year 1672, we had sixty ships of the line, and forty frigates: and in 1681 we had one hundred and ninety eight ships of war, including tenders, and thirty gallies in the port of Toulon, either armed, or ready to be armed. Eleven thousand regular troops served on board the men of war, and three thousand in the gallies. One hundred and sixty-six thousand men were classed for the various services in the marine. In the following years there were computed one thousand gentlemen, or boys of good families, who did the duty of soldiers on board the vessels, and in the ports learned every thing which is necessary in the art of navigating or rigging of a ship. These gentlemen composed our marine guards; and they were by sea what the cadets were by land. They had been instituted in 1672, though then only few in number. They have formed the school which has produced our best and most skilful sea officers.

Hitherto there had been no marshals of France in the marine, which is a proof how greatly this essential part of the strength of France had been neglected. John d'Etree was the first marshal in 1681. Lewis XIV. in every thing shewed, that his chief care was to raise that spirit of emulation, without which every thing languishes.

The French constantly gained the advantage in all their naval engagements, till the battle of la Hogue in 1692, when the count de Tourville, in obedience to orders from court, with forty five

ail attacked the English and Dutch fleet of ninety ships. The French were forced to submit to such superior force, and they lost fourteen of their largest ships; which were sunk and burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Yet, notwithstanding this defeat, we still preserved our maritime force: but it declined in the war about the succession, and we did not begin effectually to restore it till 1751, in the time of a happy peace, which is the only time proper to establish a good marine; for in time of war, we have neither leisure nor power to do it.

These naval forces served to protect the commerce. The colonies of Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, which before had been in a languishing condition, flourished: not indeed to such a degree as they do now, but yet better than had till then been hoped: for from 1635 to 1665, these establishments had rather been a burden than otherwise.

In 1664, the king sent a colony to Cayenne, and another soon after to Madagascar. He used every means in his power to repair the error and misfortune under which France had so long laboured, by a neglect of the sea, while her neighbours had been forming empires in the most distant parts of the world.

From this single view it appears, what changes were made in the state by Lewis XIV. They were advantageous changes, because they still subsist; and his ministers were emulous to second him in them: the disposition and execution was doubtless owing to them; but the general plan was formed by the king. It is certain, that the magistrates would not have reformed the laws; that order would not have

been restored in the finances; discipline would not have been introduced into the troops, nor a general civil policy throughout the kingdom: that we should have had no fleets: that the arts would not have been encouraged: and all this in concert, and at the same time, with perseverance, and under different ministers, if there had not been a sovereign, who had in general all these designs in view, with a firm resolution to put them in execution.

He always considered his own glory as inseparable from the good of his kingdom; and he did not regard it in the same light that a private gentleman considers his estate, out of which he gets as much as he can only to live in pleasures. Every king who loves true glory, loves the public good. He had no Colbert, nor no Louvois, when about the year 1698, for the instruction of the duke of Burgundy, he ordered each of the intendants to draw up a particular description of his province. By this means an exact account of the kingdom would be obtained, and a just enumeration of the inhabitants. It was a useful work; though all the intendants had not the capacity and attention of monsieur de Lamoignon de Baviile. Had what the king directed been as well executed in regard to every province, as it was by this magistrate in his account of Languedoc, the collection would have been one of the most valuable monuments of the age. Some of them are well done: but the plan was irregular and imperfect, because all the intendants were not restrained to one and the same method. It were to be wished, that each of them had given in columns the number of inhabitants in each election; the nobles, the citizens, the labourers, the artisans,

the mechanics; the cattle of every kind; the good, the indifferent, and the bad lands; all the clergy, regular and secular; their revenues; those of the towns, and those of the communities.

All these heads, in most of their accounts, are confused and imperfect: and it is frequently necessary to search with great care and pains to find what is wanted; and which should have been so disposed, that a minister might see at one glance the forces, the necessities, and the resources. The design was excellent, and would have been of the greatest use, had it been executed with judgment and uniformity.

Thus we have given a general view of what Lewis XIV. did, and attempted to do, to render his kingdom more flourishing: and we cannot, surely, behold all these achievements and efforts without some gratitude, nor without being animated with that love for the public good which inspired them. We may compare in our minds the state of the kingdom, in the time of the Fronde, with its present state. Lewis XIV. did more for the service of his kingdom than twenty of his predecessors together, though he was far from doing all that he might have done. But the war which was ended by the peace of Ryfwic, began the ruin of that great commerce which Colbert had established; and the war about the succession completed it.

Had Lewis XIV. employed those immense sums to adorn Paris, and complete the Louvre, which he expended in the aqueducts and works of Maintenon, to bring waters to Versailles, which were frequently interrupted, and are now become fruit-

less; had he expended in Paris the fifth part of what it cost him to force nature at Versailles, Paris would now have been as beautiful as it is on that side next the Tuilleries and the Pont royal, and would have been the most magnificent city in the world.

To reform the laws, was effecting a great deal, but justice was not able to destroy chicane. The government once thought of rendering our jurisprudence uniform. It is so in criminal matters in commerce, in processes; and it might be so in the laws which regard the property of the subject. It is a very great inconvenience, that one and the same tribunal must give judgment in more than a hundred causes on different subjects. Rights to lands, which are either equivocal, oppressive, or otherwise inconvenient to society, still subsist, and are the remains of that foedal government, which is now no more. They are the rubbish of a Gothic building, which is destroyed. Uniformity in every part of the administration is a virtue; but the difficulties in this great work have prevented an attempt from being made.

Lewis XIV. might have more easily dispensed with the dangerous resource to the farmers of the taxes, to which he was compelled by his constant anticipation of his revenues, as will appear in the chapter on the finances.

If he had not thought his will a sufficient reason to make a million of people change their religion, France would not have lost so many of its inhabitants §. Nevertheless this kingdom, notwithstanding

§ See the chapter upon Calvinism.

its civil dissention and losses, is at this day the most flourishing upon earth; because all the good done by Lewis XIV. still subsists; and the evil, which it was difficult to avoid in the times of trouble, has been repaired. Posterity, which is the judge of all kings, and whose judgments they should always have before their eyes, will confess, after mature consideration of the virtues and weaknesses of this monarch, that though he might have been too highly extolled in his life-time, he ought nevertheless to be for ever praised and honoured: and that he was worthy of the statue erected for him at Montpellier, with a Latin inscription, the meaning of which was: *To Lewis the great after his death.*

All these changes in the government, and the several orders of the state, of which we have here given an account, necessarily produced a very considerable change in our manners. That spirit of faction, rage, and rebellion, which had possessed the nation from the time of Francis II. was changed into an emulation to serve the prince. The lords, who possessed great estates, being no longer canonised in them; the governors of the provinces, having no longer any important posts to bestow, every one endeavoured to deserve favours only from the sovereign, and the state became one entire and regular body, where every line tended to the center.

By this means, the court was freed from those factions and conspiracies, which had disturbed the state for so many years. Under the administration of Lewis XIV. there was only one conspiracy, in 1674,

which was formed by la Truaumont, a Norman gentleman, who was overwhelmed in debaucheries and debts; in which he was joined by one of the house of Rohan, who by the same conduct had reduced himself to the same indigence. The only person besides, who entered into this conspiracy, was the chevalier de Preaux, the nephew of la Truaumont, who being seduced by his uncle, he also seduced his mistress, madam de Villiers. Their design neither was nor could be to gain a party in the kingdom: they only intended to sell and deliver up Quillebœuf to the Dutch, and introduce the enemy into Normandy. It was not so properly a conspiracy, as a base act of treachery, ill contrived. The only consequence of this fruitless and absurd design was, the punishment of those concerned in it; and the memory of their crime is now almost forgotten.

There were, perhaps, some few seditions in the provinces; but these were only inconsiderable popular tumults, which were easily suppressed. The Huguenots themselves always continued peaceable, to the time when their places of worship were demolished. In a word, a people which till then had been remarkably turbulent, the king rendered peaceable, and dangerous only to their enemies, after having been so to their sovereigns for more than an hundred years before. Our manners were polished, and our courage not abated.

The houses, which the nobility built or purchased in Paris, where their ladies lived with dignity, formed schools of politeness, which by degrees drew our youth from that tavern life, which had so long been the mode, and which only tended to increase debauchery and impudence. Manners are

governed by inconsiderable things: the custom of riding on horse-back, in Paris, had produced a disposition to frequent quarrels, which ceased as soon as this custom was abolished. Decency, for which we are principally obliged to the ladies, who assembled company at their houses, rendered conversation and society more agreeable; and reading at last rendered them more solid. Treason, and other atrocious crimes, by which, in times of faction and trouble, men do not think themselves dishonoured, were now in a manner unknown. The crimes of Brinvilliers and Voisins, could be considered only as fleeting storms, in a sky which was otherwise clear and serene: and it would be as unreasonable to condemn a nation for the glaring crimes of a few particular persons, as it would be to canonize it for the reformation of la Trappe.

All the different stations of life were before distinguishable, by certain faults which characterized them. Those in the military service, and the young men designed for the profession of arms, had an overbearing vivacity: the lawyers had a disagreeable gravity, to which the custom of always appearing in their gowns, even at court, did not contribute little. It was the same with regard to the universities and the physicians. Merchants still continued to wear their gowns when they assembled or went to the minister; and the most eminent traders were men very unpolished: but the houses, the theatres, and the public walks, which began to be frequented for the sake of more agreeable society, by degrees rendered the exterior of all persons almost alike. Politeness now appears from the highest sta-

tions, down to the tradesman's shop; and time has introduced these changes into the provinces.

Luxury is at last confined to taste and convenience; and the croud of pages and domestics in every house has disappeared, to introduce more ease and elegance into the houses of the great. Vain pomp and the pride of exterior show, is resigned to other nations, which yet regard nothing but their public appearance, and where they are still ignorant of the true art of living.

The great ease introduced into the commerce of the world, affability, simplicity, and an improvement of the understanding, have rendered Paris a city, which, for the agreeable manner of living, is probably much superior to Rome or Athens, even in the height of their glory.

Some people complain of no longer seeing grandeur and dignity assumed at court, as formerly. In reality, there are now none of those petty tyrants, which we had in the time of the Fronde, under Lewis XIII. and in the preceding ages. But true greatness is now restored among our numerous gentry, which had so long been degraded by serving those powerful subjects. Gentlemen and citizens, who formerly would have thought themselves honoured in being the domestics of these lords, are now become their equals, and frequently their superiors in the military service; and the more services prevail in every thing over titles, the more the state is flourishing.

The age of Lewis XIV. has been compared to that of Augustus. Not that the power or the personal actions can be compared: Rome and Augustus were ten times more considerable in the world

than Lewis XIV. and Paris. But we must remember, that Athens was equal to the Roman empire in all those things which do not derive their excellence from strength, and power. We must also consider, that if there is nothing now in the world like Rome and Augustus, nevertheless all Europe together is greatly superior to the whole Roman empire. Under Augustus there was only one nation; but now there are several, which are learned, martial, and polite, and which possess arts unknown to the Greeks and Romans; and among these nations, there is not one that has been more distinguished in every thing, for about a century, than the nation which was, in some measure, formed by Lewis XIV.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FINANCES.

IF we compare the administration of Colbert with that of all the ministers who went before him, posterity cannot enough revere the memory of that great man; whose body, after his death, the mad multitude would have torn in pieces. The French are, without question, indebted to him for their industry and commerce, and, of consequence, for that opulence, the sources of which are sometimes stopped in time of war; but never fail to open themselves again with abundance during peace.

And yet, in the year 1702, France was still ungrateful enough to blame Colbert for the disorders that began to be felt in the exchequer. A financier of Normandy published about this time a detail of the revenue of France, in two small volumes, pretending, that since the year 1660, every thing had been in a declining state. But the very contrary of this was true, for France was never so flourishing as from the death of cardinal Mazarin to the war of 1689; and even in that war, the body of the state, which already began to feel decay, still supported itself by the vigour which Colbert diffused into all its members. The author of the detail pretends, that since the year 1660, the funds of the kingdom had sunk in real value fifteen hundred millions. This account was so far from being true, that it had not even the least air of probability. Yet his captious arguments were received as so many demonstrations, by those who had resolved to swallow this ridiculous paradox. Thus in England, in the most flourishing times, papers are continually coming out, to prove that the kingdom is undone.

It is easier in France than in any other country, to ruin the superintendant of the finances in the minds of the people. That office is of the most odious kind, because taxes are always so; besides, there reigns in general in the affairs of the revenue, no less prejudice and ignorance than in matters of philosophy.

So far were we from having a perfect knowledge of this subject, that even in our own days, so late as the year 1718, the parliament was heard to tell the duke of Orleans in a body, *that the intrinsical*

value of a mark of silver is five and twenty livres; as if there was another real and intrinsic value, different from that of weight and standard: and the duke of Orleans, with all his penetration, seems not to have been aware of this mistake of the parliament.

It is true, Colbert did not do all he might have done, much less all he would have done. The state of the revenue was not then so well understood; and in large kingdoms there are always many and great abuses. The arbitrary nature of taxes; the multiplicity of exemptions; the custom on goods from province to province, which beget an estrangement, nay often an enmity between the several parts of the kingdom; the inequality of measures in different cities; with twenty other disorders incident to the body politic, could not be remedied.

Colbert, to answer at once the continual expence of wars, buildings, and pleasures, was obliged to revive in the year 1672, what at first he had resolved to abolish for ever; provisional imposts, annuities, new places, augmentations of salaries, with such other expedients as relieve a state for the present, and plunge it into debt for many years to come.

He found it impossible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved; for it appears sufficiently, by all his instructions which remain, that he was persuaded the true riches of a country consisted in the number of inhabitants, the culture of the lands, the industry of the people, and the prosperous state of commerce. He saw that the king possessed very few crown-lands, and being no more

than the steward of his people's wealth, could not otherwise be truly rich, than by taxes easy to collect, and equally proportioned.

He was so apprehensive of delivering the state into the hands of the farmers of the revenue, that some time after the dissolution of the chamber of justice, which he had caused to be erected against them, he procured an arret of council, declaring it capital for any one to advance money upon new taxes. By this threatening decree, which however was never printed, he meant to keep the officers of the customs in awe: yet soon after he was obliged to have recourse to their aid, even without revoking the arret of council. The king's wants were pressing, and ways and means for a supply must be found.

This expedient, brought from Italy into France by Catherine de Medicis, had so totally corrupted the government, by the pernicious facility with which it answered any sudden demand, that after having been abolished in the happy days of Henry IV. it appeared again during the whole reign of Lewis XIII. and greatly infected the latter time of Lewis XIV.

Six years after Colbert's death, in 1689, France was suddenly plunged into a war, which she was obliged to maintain against all the powers of Europe, without having any funds in reserve. Pelletier, who was then at the head of the finances, hoped to find a remedy for this in the diminution of luxury. An ordinance was published, requiring that all the massy plate, which was then in great quantity in the houses of the great, and considered as a proof of wealth and abundance, should be brought

to the mint. The king himself set the example, by resigning all his tables of solid plate, his silver stands, corbels, and large branched candlesticks, his large canopy beds of massy silver, and all the curious chased work belonging to his household, which were the masterpieces of the ingenious Balin, a man singular in his way, and executed after the designs of le Brun. They cost originally upwards of ten millions; but on this occasion produced only three. The wrought plate belonging to particular persons yielded about three more: but this altogether was but an inconsiderable resource.

Towards the years 1691, and 1692, the finances were perceived to be in extreme disorder. Those who attribute the decay of the public revenue to the profusion of Lewis XIV. in his buildings, upon the arts, and upon his pleasures, seem not to be sensible, that on the contrary, the expenses that tend to promote industry, serve to enrich a state. It is only war that necessarily impoverishes a state, unless where the spoils of the vanquished serve to enrich it. Since the time of the antient Romans, I know of no nation that has enriched itself by its victories. Italy, in the sixteenth century, owed its wealth entirely to its commerce. Holland would have subsisted but a very short time, had it looked no farther than the seizure of the Spanish plate fleets, and had not the East-Indies been the support of its power. England is always impoverished by war, even when it is most successful against the naval armies of France, and owes all its grandeur to its commerce. The Algerines, who support themselves solely by their piracies, are a very wretched people.

Amongst the European nations, war, after a certain term of years, reduces the conqueror to the same distress with the conquered. It is a gulph that swallows up all the channels of plenty. Ready money, that principle of all good and of all evil, levied with so much difficulty in the provinces, flows into the coffers of a hundred stock-jobbers, and farmers of the revenue, who advance the sums demanded by the state, and by these advances, purchase the privilege of plundering the nation in the name of the sovereign. The people in consequence of this, regarding the government as their enemy, conceal their wealth, and want of circulation throw the kingdoms into a languishing condition.

No suddenly devised expedient can answer the purposes of a fixed and known establishment, of long standing, and calculated with an eye to the most remote contingencies. The comptroller-general Pontchartrain, in the year 1696, sold patents of nobility for two thousand crowns. About five hundred persons purchased on this occasion: the resource was transient, the infamy lasting. An ordinance appeared, requiring all the nobility, ancient and modern, to register their coats of arms, and to pay for the permission of using them in sealing their letters. The officers of the customs bargained for this tax, and advanced the money. The minister scarce ever had recourse but to such low expedients, in a kingdom capable of furnishing others far more considerable.

It was not till the year 1710, that the government ventured to impose the tax of the tenth penny. This tenth penny coming upon the neck

of so many other burdensom taxes, appeared to be so oppressive, that it was not thought advisable to levy it with rigour. The government did not gain twenty-five millions yearly from it, at forty livres the mark.

Colbert made very few attempts to alter the value of the coin. It were indeed better, never to make any such attempt at all. Silver and gold, the common standards of exchange, ought to be regarded as invariable measures. The value of a mark of silver in his time was fixed at six and twenty livres, nor did he increase it to more than seven and twenty; but after him, in the latter years of Lewis XIV. we find it valued at no less than forty imaginary livres; a fatal expedient, which eased the king for a time, to ruin him afterwards: for instead of a mark of silver, he received little more than half that value. He who in 1683 owed twenty seven livres, paid a mark; and he who in 1710, owed forty livres, paid a mark likewise. The diminutions which followed soon after, gave a no less severe shock to the little commerce that remained, than the augmentations had done before.

A real source might have been found in a well contrived bank, with notes of credit; but to render such a bank useful in different conjunctures, it ought to be established in a time of prosperity.

The minister, Chamillard, began in the year 1706, to make payments in bank bills, in billets of subsistence, and in billets of free quarters; but as this paper money was not received at the exchequer, its credit was destroyed almost as soon as it appeared. The government was necessitated to

continue the practice of burdensome loans, and to anticipate four years of the royal revenue,

The comptroller-general des Marets, nephew to the illustrious Colbert, succeeding Chamillard in 1708, found it impossible to heal a disorder, which all circumstances concurred to render incurable.

Nature conspired with fortune to overwhelm the state. The cruel winter of 1709, forced the king to remit nine millions of taxes to his people, at a time when he had not wherewithal to pay his troops. The scarcity of provisions was so excessive, that it cost five and forty millions for the subsistence of the army. The expences of the year 1709 amounted to two hundred and twenty one millions; and the king's ordinary revenue scarce produced forty nine. Thus was the state unavoidably ruined, in order to prevent its falling under the power of its enemies. The disorders encreased to such a degree, and so little was done to repair it, that long after the peace, in the beginning of the year 1715, the king was obliged to negotiate bills to the amount of thirty two millions for eight millions in specie. In short, he left at his death, a debt of two thousand six hundred millions, at twenty eight livres to the mark, according to the value of the coin at that time; which makes about four thousand five hundred millions of our money as it stood in 1750.

It is astonishing, yet true, that this immense debt would have been no insupportable burden upon the state, had France at that time been possessed of flourishing commerce, an established bank, and wealthy companies capable of supporting the credit

of its bills, as in Sweden, England, Venice and Holland. For when the debts of a powerful state center wholly in itself, circulation and public credit always furnish means of payment. But France at that time was far from being in a capacity to put so vast and complicated a machine in motion, under the weight of which it lay in a manner crushed.

Lewis XIV. during his reign, expended eighteen thousand millions; which one time with another comes to three hundred and thirty millions yearly of present money, allowing for the various augmentations and diminutions of value it underwent.

Under the administration of the great Colbert, the ordinary revenues of the crown did not exceed a hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty seven livres to the mark. The surplus therefore was always furnished by extraordinary methods of supply. Colbert, for instance, during the war of 1672, was obliged to raise four hundred millions extraordinary, in six years time.

Those who have taken the trouble to compare the revenues of Lewis XIV. with those of Lewis XV. have found, in confining themselves to the fixed and current revenue, that Lewis XIV. was much richer in 1683, the epocha of Colbert's death, with a hundred and seventeen millions of yearly revenue, than his successor Lewis XV. in 1730, with almost two hundred millions: and this is an undoubted truth, if we consider only the fixed and ordinary rents of the crown. For a hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty seven livres to the mark, makes a greater sum than two hundred

millions, when the mark is valued at forty nine livres, which was the case in 1730; not to mention the load of debt the crown then lay under. But the king's revenues, I mean those of the state, have considerably encreased since that time; and the constitution of the finances is now so well understood, that in the ruinous war of 1741, the public credit was never once at a stand. The ministry have fallen upon the way of establishing public funds, as among the English: it was found necessary to adopt in part the system of their revenue as well as their philosophy; and were it possible, in a government purely monarchical, to introduce a circulation of paper money, which doubles at least the riches of England, France would attain its highest pitch of power and grandeur.

The current coin of the kingdom, in 1683, might amount to about five hundred millions: which may be about twelve hundred millions, according to the present valuation of money. But the computation of our time is almost double what it was in the time of Colbert; so that France is not above a sixth richer in specie since the death of that minister. It is otherwise in respect of gold and gold plate, and the various implements of luxury. The amount of these in 1690 scarce came to four hundred millions present money; whereas they are now rated equal to the current coin of the kingdom. Nothing can demonstrate more clearly, how much commerce, whose sources were first opened by Colbert, has encreased since the conclusion of the wars, Industry continued to flourish, notwithstanding the loss of so many artificers, dispersed by the revocation of the edict of Nantes;

and this industry still improves every day. The nation is capable of as great, nay of greater things than under Lewis XIV. because genius and commerce, when duely encouraged, never fail to receive new accessions of strength.

To see the affluence in which private persons live, the prodigious number of fine houses built in Paris and the provinces, the multitude of equipages, the conveniencies and refinements of luxury, one can hardly forbear thinking, that the wealth of France must have encreased at least twenty fold. All this, however, is the fruit of an ingenious industry, still more than of our riches. It scarce costs more at present, to be accommodated with a handsome house, than with a wretched one in the days of Henry IV. The large plates of glass, manufactured at home, adorn our houses at a far less expence, than did formerly those small ones imported from Venice. Our rich and curious stuffs come cheaper than those of foreign countries, and even exceed them in goodness. In reality, it is not gold and silver that procure the accommodations of life, but genius and industry. A people possessed only of these two metals would be very miserable. On the other hand, a people destitute of the metals, but who know how to manufacture properly all the productions of the earth, would be the truly wealthy nation. France enjoys this advantage, with a much greater quantity of gold and silver, than is necessary for the mere purposes of circulation.

The country remains in pretty much the same situation as formerly. Nature seems to have im-

posed upon far the greatest part of mankind an absolute necessity of labour. The proportion established in the taxes, instead of that arbitrary method which prevailed in almost all the provinces, has only introduced a more equitable assessment, and eased the peasants a little, who ought not to be rich, but who at the same time ought not to be miserable.

The middle order of people are grown rich by virtue of their industry: the ministers and courtiers have rather suffered in this general revolution; because the value of the coin being diminished almost one half, their salaries and pensions continue the same, and the price of provisions is more than double. By this means we see less opulence than formerly among the great, and more among those of inferior rank, which has brought the people nearer to a level. In short, after whatever manner the finances are administered, France, in the industry of more than twenty millions of inhabitants, possesses an inestimable treasure.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SCIENCES and ARTS.

THIS happy age, which beheld so wonderful a revolution in the mind of man, seemed not to have been destined to such an event. For to begin with philosophy, there was but little appearance, in the time of Lewis XIII. that it would be able to

extricate itself from the darkness in which it was involved. The inquisition in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, had linked the errors of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. The civil wars in France, and the disputes raised by Calvinism, were as little calculated to cultivate human reason, as was the Fanaticism that prevailed in England in Cromwell's time. If a canon of Thorn had revived the anti-ent planetary system of the Chaldeans, exploded for so many ages, that truth had been condemned at Rome: and the congregation of the holy office, consisting of seven cardinals, having declared the motion of the earth, without which there can be no true astronomy, not only heretical, but absurd; the great Galileo having been obliged to ask pardon at the age of seventy, for being in the right, there was but little appearance that truth would make its way in the world. The lord chancellor Bacon had pointed out at a distance the course we were to pursue: Galileo had made some discoveries in relation to the descent of heavy bodies: Torricelli began to ascertain the weight of the air that surrounds us: and some experiments had been made at Magdeburg. But these were only feeble essays: the world still continued in ignorance, and the schools abounded with absurdities. Descartes then appeared; who by a conduct the very reverse of what he ought to have pursued, instead of studying nature, fell to unravelling her operations by conjecture. He was the greatest geometrician of his age; but geometry commonly leaves the imagination as it finds it. That of Descartes had a strong bias to invention. The prince of mathematicians

was little more than a romancer in philosophy. A man who disdained making experiments, who never once quoted Galileo, who was at no pains to furnish himself with materials, could build only castles in the air.

What was purely romantic in his system succeeded; and the few truths mixed with these philosophical chimeras were at first opposed. But these few truths at last, by virtue of the method he introduced, began to pierce the gloom that overshadowed the human mind: for before him, there was no clue to lead through this labyrinth of error; and he at least furnished one, which served to guide others, after it was known that he himself had lost his way. It was a great point gained, to destroy the chimeras of the Peripatetic philosophy, though by other chimeras no less vain. These two phantoms for some time kept the field; and falling one after the other, reason erected her throne upon their ruins. There was at Florence an academy for experiments, under the name of the academy *del cimento*, founded by cardinal Leopold de Medicis, in the year 1605. It was perceived already in this parent country of the arts, that there was no way of comprehending any thing in the grand edifice of nature, but that of examining the whole structure by particular parts. The academy *del cimento*, after the days of Galileo and Torricelli, did great service.

Some philosophers of England, under the gloomy administration of Cromwell, agreed to meet among themselves in search of truth, at a time when all truth lay oppressed by the ravages of enthusiasm. Charles II. being recalled to the throne

of his ancestors, by the repentance and inconstancy of the nation, granted letters patent to this rising academy: but this was all the encouragement it received from the government. The royal society, or rather the incorporated society of London, was instigated by the sole motive of promoting knowledge. To this illustrious body we are indebted for the late discoveries relating to light, the principle of gravitation, the motion of the fixed stars, the geometry of transcendental quantities, and a hundred other inventions; which, in this respect, might justly denominate the age of which we speak, the age of the English, as well as that of Louis XIV.

In 1666, Mr. Colbert, jealous of this new glory, was resolved the French should have a share in it; and at the request of several learned men, brought Louis XIV. to agree to the establishment of an academy of sciences. It became an incorporated society in 1669, like that of London, and the French academy. Colbert brought Dominico Cassini from Italy, and Huygens from Holland, by the offer of large pensions. To them we owe the discovery of Saturn's satellites and ring. Huygens was the inventor of pendulum clocks. By degrees, a genuine knowledge in all the different branches of true physics began to prevail, and the chimeras of the systematic philosophy were exploded. The public beheld with wonder a chemistry, in which no mention was made of the philosopher's stone, or the art of prolonging life beyond its natural bounds; an astronomy that pretended not to foretell future events; medicine independent of the phases of the moon. Corruption was no longer the parent of animals and plants; nor was philosophy filled with

prodigies, when nature came to be better understood.

Nature was now studied in all her productions. Geography received amazing improvements. No sooner was an observatory built, by the order of Lewis XIV. than Dominico Cassini, and Picart, began a meridian line in 1669. It was continued northward, in 1683, by la Hire; and in fine Cassini, in 1700, carried it as far as the extremity of Roussillon. It is the finest monument of astronomy extant, and sufficient of itself to immortalize the age.

In the year 1672, a number of eminent naturalists were sent to Caienne, for the sake of making useful observations. This voyage gave rise to the discovery of a new law of nature, which was afterwards demonstrated by the great Sir Isaac Newton; and paved the way to those still more famous voyages, which have given such a lustre to the reign of Lewis XV.

In the year 1700, Tournefort was sent to the Levant, where he collected an infinite number of new plants, to enrich the royal garden, before almost quite abandoned, but thenceforward held in honour, and is become at this day worthy the curiosity of all Europe. The royal library, already well stored, was increased under Lewis XIV. with more than thirty thousand volumes; and this example has been so well followed since, that it contains at present upwards of a hundred and fourscore thousand. The school of civil law was again opened, after it had been shut for almost a century. A professor of French law was established in every university of the kingdom: and, indeed, re-

on seems to direct that no other should be allowed; and that the best Roman institutions, being incorporated with those of the country, should be formed into one complete body of laws for the nation.

Under this prince were the literary journals first established. It is well known, that the *Journal des Savans*, which began in 1665, is the parent of all the several productions of this kind, with which Europe now abounds, and into which many abuses have crept, as is but too common in the most useful institutions.

The academy of Belles Lettres, composed of some members of the French academy, was instituted in 1663, to transmit to posterity by medals the actions of Lewis XIV. and became of considerable utility to the public, when they no longer confined themselves merely to the monarch, but applying their researches to antiquity, began an impartial criticism of opinions and facts. They did nearly the same service to history, which the academy of sciences did to natural philosophy: they dissipated error.

The spirit of good sense and criticism, which now began to prevail more and more, destroyed insensibly many superstitions. To these first dawning of reason we owe that celebrated declaration of the king in 1672, forbidding the tribunals of justice, to receive any simple accusations of witchcraft. Such a step, in the reign of Henry IV. or Lewis XIII. might have been attended with dangerous consequences; and though perhaps there have been some accusations of this kind, since the publishing of that declaration, yet it does not appear

that the judges ever condemned persons so accused, unless where an open profanation of religion, and the use of poison, was clearly proved against them.

It was a very common practice before this time, to try forcerers by throwing them into a pond, bound hand and foot with ropes. If they had the misfortune to swim, it was looked upon as infallible demonstration of guilt. These trials had been established by the judges in several provinces, and they continued long in use among the people. Every shepherd was a forcerer: amulets and magic rings were in great request in the cities. The effects attributed to the hazle switch, which was thought to discover thieves, treasures, and the most hidden things, passed for certain; and to this day meet with a great deal of credit in many considerable provinces of Germany. It was the universal practice for persons to cast their horoscope. Nothing was talked of but magical secrets; all ranks of people were infected with the illusion. Magistrates and learned men had written seriously upon these subjects, insomuch that there was a certain class of authors distinguished by the name of *daemonographi*. Rules were laid down for distinguishing the true magicians from the false: and those that were truly possessed from those that were not; in short, nothing had hitherto been adopted from antiquity, but errors of every kind.

These superstitious notions had taken such deep root, that so late as the year 1680, the appearance of a comet gave universal terror. It was even dangerous to oppose this popular apprehension. James Bernoulli, a considerable mathematician of that

time, in his answer to those who contended for the ominous nature of planets, says, that the body of the comet cannot be a sign of the Divine wrath, because it is eternal; but the tail, he allows, may: Nevertheless, neither the body nor tail of the comet are eternal. Bayle attacked this vulgar prejudice, in a book which was celebrated at that time, out of which the progress of human reason has rendered useless now.

Few can be induced to believe, that sovereigns lie under any great obligation to philosophers. It is nevertheless certain, that the philosophic spirit, which has gained so much upon all ranks of people, the mere vulgar excepted, has contributed not a little to strengthen and secure the rights of princes. Those quarrels, which in former ages would have produced excommunications, interdicts, and schisms, have no such effects at present. It has been commonly said, that mankind would be happy, if they had philosophers for their kings: with equal justice may we say, that kings are much the happier, for having a great many of their subjects philosophers.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that the reasonable spirit which begins to prevail in the education of youth in the greater towns, had not been able to stop the extravagancies of fanaticism in the Cevennes, nor prevent the infatuation of the lower people of Paris round the tomb of St. Medard, nor quiet the warm and frivolous disputes which have arisen among men who ought to have been wiser. But before this period, these disputes had caused troubles in the state; the miracles of St. Medard had gained credit with the most consider-

able citizens; and the fanaticism which had been shut up amongst the mountains of the Cevennes had spread itself over the towns and provinces.

All the several subjects of science and literature were exhausted during this period; and such a multitude of writers appeared, eminent for their discoveries and knowledge, that those who in other ages would have passed for prodigies of learning, are now scarce regarded in the croud. Their glory is not conspicuous, because of their number; but the glory of the age is thereby much the greater.

ARTS.

True philosophy made not the same progress in France, as it did in England, and at Florence; and though the academy of sciences was of very great service to the human mind, yet it gave not France any advantage in this respect over other nations: all the great discoveries, all the leading truths in philosophy, took their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, in poetry, in polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French may be considered as the legislators of Europe. Italy was no longer distinguished for its good taste this way. True eloquence was every where unknown; nothing could be more preposterous than the language of the pulpit; nothing more ridiculous than the pleadings at the bar. The preachers quoted Ovid and Virgil; the lawyers St. Austin and St. Jerome. A genius had not yet arisen, capable of giving a delicate turn, harmony, propriety, and dignity of expression to the French tongue.

Some verses of Malherbe had indeed made it appear, that the language was capable of grandeur and force; but that was all. The same writers, who had succeeded so well in Latin, as the president de Thou, and the chancellor del' Hospital, seemed quite other men when they engaged with their own language, which was altogether intractable in their hand. The French as yet had nothing to recommend it, but a certain air of simplicity, which constituted the whole merit of Joinville, of Amiot, of Marot, of Montagne, of Regnier, and of the *Satire Menippée*. This simplicity was not without a considerable share of irregularity and rusticity.

John de Lingendes, bishop of Macon, unknown to the present age, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who spoke in the sublime taste. His sermons and funeral orations, though not wholly free from the rust of the times, served as a model to the orators who imitated and surpassed him. The funeral oration of Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed the great in his own country, spoke by Lingendes in 1630, was full of such masterly strokes of eloquence, that Flechier, a long time after, took the whole exordium, with the text, and several considerable passages, to embellish his justly admired funeral oration of the vicount de Turenne.

About the same time, Balzac gave numbers and harmony to the French prose. His letters, it must be owned, are penned in a stile that is somewhat bombast. He writes to the first cardinal of Retz: *You have just been assuming the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses.* He writes to a friend from

Rome, speaking of perfumed waters: *I have just escaped by swimming in my chamber through an ocean of perfumes.* With all these faults he charms the ear. Eloquence has so great power over men, that Balzac was admired in his time, for having discovered that small part of this necessary and much neglected art, which consists in the harmonious choice of words; and even for having exerted this talent improperly on many occasions.

Voiture gave some idea of the superficial grace of that epistolary style, which is by no means the best, because it aims at nothing higher than pleasure and amusement. His two volumes of letters are the mere pastime of a wanton imagination, in which we meet not with one that is instructive, not one that flows from the heart, that paints the manners of the times, or the characters of men; they are rather an abuse than exercise of wit.

The language by degrees began to attain purity, and assume a fixed and steady form. This was in great measure owing to the labours of the French academy, but more particularly to Vaugelas. His translation of Quintus Curtius, which appeared in 1646, was the first good book written with true purity of style; inasmuch that very few of the expressions or phrases are yet become obsolete.

Olivier Patru, who followed soon after, helped very much to refine the language, and reduce it under a grammatical form; and though he did not pass for a profound lawyer, yet we are indebted to him for just disposition, perspicuity, decorum, and elegance of discourse, talents that were utterly unknown at the bar before his time.

But the performance which contributed most to form the taste of the nation, and give it a true relish of propriety and correctness, was the small collection of *maxims written by Francis duke of Rochefoucault*. Though there is but one truth runs through this whole piece, viz. *that self-love is the spring of all our actions and determinations*, yet this thought presents itself under such a variety of forms, as never fail to strike with new surprize. It is not so properly a book itself, as a set of materials to embellish a book. This little collection was much read and admired: it accustomed our authors to think, and to comprize their thoughts in a lively, correct, and delicate turn of phrase. This was a merit utterly unknown to any European writer before him, since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius, which appeared in prose, was the collection of *provincial letters* in 1650. Examples of all the various species of eloquence are to be found in this work. Though it has been now written almost a hundred years, yet not a single word occurs in it, favouring of that vicissitude, to which living languages are so very subject. Here then we are to fix the epoeha, when our language may be said to have assumed a settled form. The bishop of Lucon, son of the celebrated Buffy, told me, that asking one day the bishop of Meaux, what work he would covet most to be the author of, supposing his own performances set aside, Bossuet replied, *The provincial letters*.

The good taste which reigns from the beginning to the end of this book, and the vigorous strain of the last letters, did not however banish immediate-

ly, that effeminate, diffuse, incorrect, and shattered stile, which had so long infected almost all our writers, preachers, and pleaders.

One of the first who displayed in the pulpit a uniform masculine eloquence, was father Bourdaloue, towards the year 1668. He was a new light to the age. We have had other pulpit orators since, as father Massillon, bishop of Clermont, who have thrown more graces into their sermons, and embellished them with finer and more masterly paintings of life and manners; but not one of these have obliterated his merit. In his stile, more nervous than florid, and which seems to despise the tinsel ornaments of a glowing imagination, he labours rather to convince than inflame, and never amuses himself with the vain ambition of pleasing.

It were perhaps to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit the bad taste which had so long debased the discourses of our divines, he had likewise banished that silly custom of preaching only upon one text. In reality, to speak for a long time upon a citation of a single line or two, to harass one's self in squaring the whole discourse to the subject of that line, seems a practice little becoming the gravity of a minister. The text by this means becomes a device, or rather enigma, which the discourse is to explain. This practice was not known to the Greeks or Romans: it was in the decline of letters that it first came into use; and time hath established its authority.

The method of dividing always into two or three heads, subjects that either require no division at all, as morality, or that would require a division on more minute and complex, as points of contro-

verſy, is likewise an arbitrary custom, which father Bourdaloue found established before his time, and with which he thought it necessary to comply.

Bossuet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, had distinguished himself as a preacher before Bourdaloue. This famous divine, who at last became one of the greatest ornaments of the age, was originally destined to the bar; and had engaged, when he was very young, to marry mademoiselle Desvieux, a young lady of uncommon merit. His talents for divinity, and that species of eloquence in which he so particularly excelled, discovered themselves so early, that his parents and friends resolved to breed him a churchman. Mademoiselle Desvieux herself determined him to this choice, preferring the glory he must acquire as a preacher, to the happiness of passing her life with him. This was what gave rise to the report of his being married; which though long believed among a few, who have a vanity in pretending to be acquainted with the secrets of families, had neither truth nor probability to support it. He preached when very young before the king and queen-mother, in 1662, long before father Bourdaloue began to be taken notice of. His discourses, enforced by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been heard at court that carried any resemblance of the sublime, and were so well received, that the king ordered a letter to be written in his name to his father, the intendant of Soissons, to congratulate him on his happiness in having such a son.

Nevertheless, when Father Bourdaloue appeared, monsieur Bossuet no longer passed for the first

preacher in France. Bossuet had distinguished himself for his genius in funeral orations; a species of eloquence that requires a vigorous imagination, with a certain grandeur and majesty of diction, resembling poetry: for from this last the orator must always borrow some aid, though with a prudent reserve, when he aims at the sublime. The funeral oration of the queen mother, which he spoke in 1667, procured him the bishopric of Condom: yet this discourse came not up to the reputation of his other performances of this kind; and accordingly was never printed, any more than his sermons. The funeral eulogium on the queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he pronounced in 1669, was universally allowed to be a master-piece. The subjects are happy in these pieces of eloquence, in proportion to the misfortunes of the deceased persons whose praises they celebrate. It is in these as in tragedy, where the sufferings of the principal personages constitute what is chiefly interesting in the performance. The funeral eulogium of the dukes of Orleans, who was carried off in the flower of her age, and may be said to have died in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears. He was obliged to stop after these words: *O fatal night! O night of horror! on which was heard, like a clap of thunder, the dreadful sound, Madame is expiring, Madame is no more, etc.* The audience burst forth into tears and sobs, and the orator was interrupted by their sighs and lamentations.

The French were the only people who succeeded in this species of eloquence. Some time after,

the same great genius invented another, of a character entirely new, which perhaps could have succeeded in no hands but his own. He applied the orator's art to history itself, which seems to exclude all ornaments of this kind. His discourse upon universal history, composed for the use of the dauphin, was neither copied after any model, nor has yet had an imitator. If the system which he adopts, to reconcile the chronology of the Jews, with that of other nations, has met with opposition from learned men, his style is nevertheless admired by all. The world was astonished at that majestic energy, wherewith he describes manners, affairs of state, the rise and fall of great empires; and at those masterly strokes of expressive truth, which appear in his characters and judgments of nations.

Almost all the productions which did so much honour to this age, were of a character unknown to antiquity. *Telemachus* is of this number. Fennelon, the disciple, the friend of Bossuet, and who became afterwards, in spite of himself, his rival and enemy, was the author of this admirable piece, which partakes equally of romance and poetry, and substitutes a measured prose in place of versification. One would be tempted to think, that he meant to treat romances as monsieur de Meaux had treated history, by giving it a dignity, and charms of which it had been judged incapable; and above all, by extracting from these fictions a moral useful to mankind, a moral utterly neglected in the fabulous inventions of antiquity. It has been commonly believed, that he composed this work to serve as themes and lessons of instruction, to the

uke of Burgundy, and his brothers, to whom he was appointed preceptor, as Bossuet had drawn up his idea of universal history for the use of the dauphin. But the marquis de Fenelon his nephew, who inherited the virtues of this great man, and who was killed at the battle of Rocou, assured me of the contrary. And indeed it seems incongruous to suppose, that the amours of Calypso and Eucharis should be the first lesson given by a priest to the sons of France.

This work was not composed till after his banishment from court, when he received orders to retire to his archbishopric. As he was well read in the ancients, and as nature had blessed him with a lively glowing imagination, he from them formed his stile in a manner peculiar to himself, which glided copiously from its fountain. I have seen his original manuscript, and there was scarce ten erasements in the whole. We are told, that one of his domestics stole a copy, and caused it to be printed. If so, the archbishop of Cambray is indebted to that infidelity, for all the reputation he has acquired in Europe. But he owes likewise his entire disgrace at court to the same cause. Most people imagined they could trace, in *Telemachus*, an indirect criticism on the government of Lewis XIV. Sesostris, who triumphed with so much haughtiness over vanquished kings, Idomeneus, who introduced luxury into Salentum, and neglected to provide necessaries, were supposed to be portraits of the king. His minister Louvois appeared, in the eyes of the discontented, to be characterised under the name of Protefilaus, as vain, obstinate, haughty, and an e-

nemy to the great generals who chose to serve the state rather than the minister.

The allies, who in the war of 1688 united against Lewis XIV. and who afterwards, in the war of 1710, shook his throne, were overjoyed to trace his character in the story of Idomeneus, whose pride rendered him odious to all his neighbours. These allusions made the stronger impression, on account of that harmonious stile, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Not only strangers, but the French themselves, weary of so many wars, saw with malicious joy, a satire of this kind, couched in a performance designed as a lesson of virtue. The editions it passed through were innumerable; I have seen no less than fourteen translations of it into English. Indeed after the death of this monarch, so dreaded, so envied, so respected by all, and so hated by some, when malice ceased to take a pleasure in pretended allusions, that seemed to censure his conduct, the severer judges treated *Telemachus* with some rigour. They blamed the length of the episodes, the circumstantial details, the little connection in the adventures, the too frequent and too uniform descriptions of a country-life; but the book has nevertheless been always regarded as one of the finest monuments of a flourishing age.

The *characters* of La Bruiere deserve likewise to be ranked among the extraordinary productions of this age. Antiquity furnishes as few examples of such a work, as of *Telemachus*. A stile rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions animated and picturesque; a use of language altogether new, yet without offending against any of its established

rules, struck the public at first: and the allusions which occur in almost every page, completed its success. When La Bruiere showed the work in manuscript to Malefieux, this last told him, *that the piece would have many readers, and raise him up many enemies.* The book sunk somewhat in the opinion of men, when that entire generation, whose follies it attacked, was extinct: but as it contains things applicable to all times and places, it is more than probable it will never be absolutely forgotten.

Telemachus has always remained without imitators; the *characters* of La Bruiere have produced several. It is easier to draw short pictures of things that strike us, than to write a long work of imagination, that pleases and instructs at the same time. The happy art of introducing even philosophy to the acquaintance of the graces, was another new attempt, of which the *plurality of worlds* gave the first example; but an example of a dangerous kind, because the proper dress of philosophy consists, in order, perspicuity, and above all in truth. What alone will hinder this ingenious performance from being placed by posterity in the list of our classic works, is, that it is founded in part on the chimerical vortices of des Cartes.

To these productions of a character entirely new, let us add, that memorable one of Bayle, who gave us a kind of dictionary for reasoning. It is the first work of the kind, in which a man may learn to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of ordinary books, those articles of this collection, which contain only a detail of minute facts, unworthy either of Bayle, an understand-

ing reader, or of posterity. In placing Bayle here among the writers who did honour to the age of Lewis XIV. notwithstanding his being a refugee in Holland, I only conform to the decree of the parliament of Thoulouse; which, when it declared his will valid in France, maugre the rigour of the laws, expressly said, *that such a man could not be considered as a foreigner.*

We shall not tire the readers patience, with an enumeration of all the good books this age produced; we shall only speak of those new and singular productions which particularly characterise, and serve to distinguish it from other ages. The eloquence of Bossuet, and Bourdaloue, for instance, neither was nor could be the same with that of Cicero. If there be any thing in our language resembling the Roman orator, it is the three memorials of Pelison, composed in behalf of Fouquet. They are like many of Cicero's orations: a mixture of judicial and state affairs, treated with an art void of ostentation, and with all the ornaments of an affecting eloquence.

We have had historians; but not a Livy. The style of the *conspiracy of Venice* is comparable to that of Sallust. It is evident the abbe de St. Real took him for his model; and perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other compositions of which we have been speaking are of a new and original cast. It is this especially which characterises in so distinguishing a manner the age of Lewis XIV: for as to learned men and commentators, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced them in abundance; but true genius had not then begun to shew itself in any kind.

Who would believe, that all those admirable works in prose would probably never have existed, had they not been preceded by poetry? Yet such is the destiny of the human mind in all nations: verse was every where the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with the people in this respect as with particular men. Plato and Cicero began by making verses. The few good stanzas of Malherbe were known by heart, at a time when we could not quote a single sublime passage in French prose: and it is more than probable, that without Peter Corneille, the genius of our prose-writers would never have been able to display itself.

This man the more deserves our admiration, in that when he first began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him. What seemed still further likely to prevent him from succeeding, these wretched models were in very great esteem; and, to complete his misfortune, were favoured by cardinal Richlieu, the protector of men of letters, not of good taste. He recompensed scriblers of no merit, who are usually men of a cringing spirit; and from haughtiness of mind happily applied on other occasions, he was desirous to humble those in whom he saw (not without some degree of vexation) a vein of true genius, which rarely stoops to dependence. It is seldom that a man of power sincerely patronizes good artists, when he happens to be so himself.

Corneille was obliged to struggle with the bad taste of the age, the established reputation of his rivals, and the partiality of cardinal Richlieu. I shall not repeat here all that has been written in

relation to the *Cid*. Suffice it to remark, that the Academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scuderi, seem to have carried their complaisance for the cardinal too far, in condemning the passion of *Chimene*. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in the design to revenge that murder, was a masterly stroke in the poet. To have overcome her passion, would have been a capital defect in the tragic art, which consists chiefly in painting the struggles of the heart. But art was then utterly unknown to the French writers, our author excepted.

The *Cid* was not the only work of Corneille, which cardinal Richlieu was desirous to depreciate. We learn from the abbe d' Aubignac, that this minister disapproved likewise of *Polieuctes*.

The *Cid*, after all, was a beautiful imitation of *Guillain de Castro*, and, in many places, a translation. *Cinna*, which followed next, was a masterpiece. An antient domestic of the house of Conde told me, that the great Conde, at the age of twenty, being present at the first representation of this tragedy, shed tears upon hearing these words of Augustus :

*Je suis maitre de moi, comme de l'univers ;
Je le suis, je veux l'etre. O siecles ! O memoire !
Conservez a jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
Je triomphe aujourd' hui du plus juste courroux,
De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu' a vous.
Soions Amis, Cinna ; c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

—————It is resolved,
I'm master of myself, as of the world.
Preserve, O time, ye farthest ages, keep
In memory this my new victory.
To-day I triumph o'er the justest wrath,
The fame of which may even reach to you.
Cinna, let's be friends; it's Caesar asks it.

These were indeed the tears of a hero: the great Corneille, forcing tears of admiration from the great Conde, forms a very memorable epoch in the history of human genius.

The great number of indifferent pieces he published afterwards, did not hinder the nation from regarding him as a writer of the first class; any more than the considerable faults, imputed to Homer, have prevented his passing for a sublime poet. It is the privilege of true genius, and above all of that genius which is original, to commit great faults with impunity.

We owe Corneille to the force of his own genius alone: but Lewis XIV. Colbert, Sophocles and Euripides, all contributed to the forming of Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen, on occasion of the king's marriage, procured him a present he did not expect, and determined him to the pursuit of poetry. His reputation hath increased with time, and that of Corneille is upon the decline. The reason seems to be, that Racine, in all his works after his *Alexander*, is ever elegant, correct, natural; and speaks to the heart: whereas the other is often deficient in all these respects. Racine greatly surpassed both

the Greeks and Corneille in the knowlege of the passions, and carried the harmony of versification, and the graces of poetic diction, to the highest point of perfection they were capable of. These two celebrated geniuses taught the nation to think, to feel, and to express themselves: and their audience, instructed only by them, became at last severe judges, able to criticize even the performances of their masters.

In the time of cardinal Richlieu, there were but very few persons in France capable of discerning the defects of the *Cid*; and in 1702, when *Athalie*, the master-piece of the theatre, was represented at the house of the dukes of Burgundy, the courtiers had confidence enough in their own judgment to condemn that admirable tragedy. Time has done the author justice; but that great man did not live to see the success of this his capital performance. A numerous party always affected to decry Racine, and refuse him the praise due to his merit. Madam de Sevigne, the first person of her age for the epistolary stile, and the talent of relating trifles with gracefulness and propriety, never believed that Racine would arrive at any lasting fame. She judged of him as of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which she was wont to say, the public would soon be undeceived. It requires time to bring the reputation of an author to maturity.

The singular destiny of this age rendered Moliere contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is not true that Moliere, when he first began to write, found the stage utterly destitute of good

comedies. Corneille himself had given the *Menteur*, a piece of character and intrigue, after the manner of the Spanish theatre; and only two of Moliere's best plays had appeared, when the public was entertained with the *Côquet-Mother* of Quinault; a piece not only of character and intrigue, but even the model of intrigue. It was acted in 1664; and is the first comedy which paints that species of men, afterwards called *Marquises*. Most of the great lords of the court of Lewis XIV. endeavoured to resemble their master in that air of dignity and grandeur, for which he was so remarkable: those of inferior rank copied their superiors; and many of them pushed this conceited air, and predominant affectation of dignity, to the most ridiculous extreme.

This humour long prevailed at court. Moliere attacked it often; and contributed to free the public from these important subalterns, as well as from the affectation of prudes, the pedantry of learned females, and the unintelligible jargon of lawyers and physicians. Moliere was, if one may use the expression, a legislator of politeness to the world. I speak here only of the services he did to the age he lived in; his other merits are sufficiently known.

We may surely pronounce it a period worthy the attention of future ages, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine; the personated characters of Moliere; the music of Lully, in a taste altogether new to the nation; and (since we are here speaking only of the arts) the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were taken notice of by Lewis XIV. by the dukes of Orleans, so celebrated for her fine taste; by a Conde, a Turenne, a Colbert, and

that croud of illustrious men which then adorned the court. We must never again expect to see the time, when a duke de la Rochefoucault, author of the *Maxims*, after enjoying the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, shall repair to the theatre of Corneille.

Despreaux raised himself to the rank of these great men; not by his first satires, for posterity are not likely to be much entertained with his description of the *confusion and bustle of Paris*, or the names of *Cassaigne* and *Cotin*; but by the instructions contained in his excellent epistles; and, above all, in his art of poetry, where even Corneille might have found many useful lessons.

La Fontaine, less chaste in his stile, less correct in his diction, but inimitable in his plainness, and the graces peculiar to himself, by his manner of narrating the most simple things, he nearly equalled the reputation of these sublime geniuses.

Quinault, in a manner of writing altogether new, and the more difficult for its seeming easiness, deserves likewise a place among these illustrious contemporaries. It is well known, with how little justice Boileau endeavoured to depreciate this poet. Boileau, though admirable in other respects, had never learned to sacrifice to the graces. It was in vain that he sought all his life to humble a man, whose acquaintance with them was his distinguishing excellence. The truest elogium of a poet is, when his verses are thought worthy the regard of posterity. This has happened to whole scenes of Quinault; an advantage which no Italian opera ever yet attained. The French music has continued in

a state of simplicity, which is not to the taste of any nation. But the artless and inimitable strokes of nature, which frequently appear with so many charms in Quinault, still please, in all parts of Europe, those who understand our language, and are possessed of a refined taste. Did antiquity furnish such a poem as Armida, with what veneration would it be received? But Quinault is a modern!

All these great men were known and patronized by Lewis XIV. except La Fontaine. His extreme simplicity, which proceeded even to a degree of self-forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he had no ambition to appear. But his merit did not pass unobserved by the duke of Burgundy; and he received, in his old age, several favours from that prince. He was, with all his elegance of genius, of a mind no less artless than the heroes of his own fables. Father Puget thinks it no small merit to have treated this man, so distinguished by the innocence of his manners, as if he had had to do with a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are for the most part those of Poggio, Ariosto, or the queen of Navarre. Loose ideas may be dangerous, but it is not agreeable sallies of wit, that inspire them. We may apply to Fontaine his own admirable fable of *the animals sick of the plague*, where the several parties produce their accusations: the lions, the wolves, and the bears are pardoned every thing; and an innocent creature is sacrificed, for having eat a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to delight and instruct the ages to come, a number of agreeable writers was formed, who have left be-

hind them a great variety of elegant pieces, that serve to amuse people of taste; just as we have had many painters whose performances please, though they are far from equalling the reputation of Poussin, Le Sueur, or Le Brun.

But towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV. there were two men that raised themselves above the rank of ordinary writers, and acquired a very considerable reputation: the one, La Motte Houdart, of a solid and comprehensive, rather than of a sublime genius. He wrote in prose with delicacy and method; but his poetry is often destitute of fire and elegance, and sometimes too of that exactness, which is never to be dispensed with but in favour of the sublime. His first essays were rather beautiful stanzas than finished odes; and he even lost much of his spirit in the sequel: but a number of elegant pieces of his which still remain, will always hinder him from passing for an author of the lowest class. He is an example to prove, that there may be a second rank of good writers.

The other was Rousseau, inferior to the former in genius, and the art and ease of composition; but who far excelled him in the talent of versification. His odes, it is true, did not appear till after those of La Motte; but they are more beautiful, more diversified, and abound more with images. In his hymns, he equals the harmony and devotion observable in the spiritual songs of Racine. His epigrams are finished with greater care than those of Marot. He was not so successful in operas, which require sensibility; nor in comedies, which cannot succeed without gaiety. In both these he was de-

ficient; and therefore failed in both, as being foreign to his genius.

He would have quite corrupted the French tongue, had the antiquated stile of Marot, which he affected to introduce into his serious compositions, been imitated by succeeding writers. But happily that mixture of the purity of our tongue, with the rust of what was spoken about two hundred years before, was a mode that did not obtain long. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but the constraint is manifest, and he is not clear in his conceptions, nor is the nature of the truths on which he grounds his reflections obvious: and *nothing can be beautiful but what is true.*

He degenerated very much in foreign countries; whether it was, that age and misfortune had impaired his genius, or that his principal merit consisting in a happy choice of words, and delicate turns of expression, (a talent of greater consequence, and not so common as most people imagine) he had not abroad the same advantages in this respect. It may be considered as one of the evils attending his banishment from his native country, that he was no longer under the eye of severe critics.

His long misfortunes had their source in an ungovernable self-love, in which jealousy and animosity were predominant. His example ought to serve as a striking lesson to men of genius and talents; but we only consider him here as a writer, whose performances have done no small honour to letters.

Very few eminent geniuses have arisen since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists, and a-

about the time of the death of Lewis XIV. nature seemed to repose herself.

The way was difficult at the beginning of this age, because it had been trod by none; it is become so now, because such multitudes have gone before us. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; and have told us what we did not know before. We that come after them can find but little to say that is new. In short, the great number of finished pieces they gave, has occasioned a kind of satiety in the literary world: and the past age having been a preceptor to the present, it is become so easy to write common things, that we have been oppressed with an inundation of trifling books; which renders it now no less necessary to give some little check to literature, than it was in the beginning of the seventeenth century to promote and encourage it.

CHAPTER XXX.

Sequel of ARTS.

WITH regard to those arts which do not depend absolutely upon the mind, as music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, they had made but small progress in France before the time which we call *the age of Lewis XIV.* Music was then only in its infancy; a few songs, with some airs for the violin, the guitar, and the theorbo, most of them composed in Spain, were all we knew

of the art. Lully astonished the world by his exquisite taste and skill. He was the first who introduced the basses, tenor, and fugues into France. His compositions, which at present appear so simple and easy, could not be executed at first without some difficulty. There are a thousand persons in France now, who understand music, for one that understood it in the time of Lewis XIII; and the art, by degrees, has been brought to perfection. There is not a considerable city in the kingdom without its public concerts; whereas even Paris itself had none at that time. Four and twenty violins belonging to the king was all the music we then had in France.

The various parts of knowledge appertaining to music, and the arts depending upon it, made such a great progress, that towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV. the art of pricking down dances was invented; so that now it may be truly said, we dance by book.

We had very good architects under the regency of Mary of Medicis. That princess, to do honour to her own country, and embellish ours, built the palace of Luxembourg, in the Tuscan taste. The same Desbrosses, to whom we are indebted for the portal of St. Gervais, was likewise the architect of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. Cardinal Richlieu, who equalled her in greatness of soul, did not equal her in taste. The cardinal-palace, which is now the palace royal, is a proof of this. We conceived the greatest expectations, when we beheld the elevation of that beautiful front of the Louvre, which at present we so much regret to see unfinished. A great number of citi-

zens have built magnificent houses; but they are more distinguished by their interior elegance, than by the taste displayed in their exterior decorations; and are rather designed to gratify private luxury, than to be an ornament to the city.

Colbert, the Mécenas of all the arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not sufficient to have architects equal to Vitruvius, there must also be an Augustus to employ them.

The municipal magistrates should also be men of public spirit, and some taste. Two or three mayors like the president Turgot, would have prevented the reproaches so justly cast upon the city of Paris, for the ill situation, and still worse taste of the town-house: for the smallness and irregularity of the public square, famous only for executions and bonfires; for the narrowness of the streets in the most frequented quarters of the city; and for those remains of barbarity, which still subsist amidst all our grandeur, and in the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with *Poussin*, under Lewis XIII: for our painters before his time are not worthy of notice, though some of them might be tolerable. But from that period, we have never been without eminent artists; not indeed in that abundance to which Italy owes a considerable share of its wealth: but to say nothing of a *Le Sueur*, who had no other master than himself, or a *Le Brun*, who equalled the Italians themselves in design and composition; we can boast of upwards of thirty painters, who have left pieces behind them worthy the attention of men of taste. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen in the palace of a

great king, galleries and apartments adorned with pictures from our country, whose merit we, perhaps, were not sufficiently apprized of. I have seen twelve thousand livres refused in France for a picture of *Santerre*. The most stupendous painting now in Europe, is the cieling done by *Le Moine* at Versailles; and perhaps it is also one of the most beautiful.

We have a painter at present in France, whom even foreigners allow to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave the academy of painting its present form, but in 1667, he persuaded Lewis XIV. to establish one at Rome. A palace was bought in that metropolis for lodging the director. Scholars repair thither to study, who have frequently gained the annual prizes in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expence, and employed chiefly in designing after antiques, or studying the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. It is a noble homage, which the desire of imitation induces us to pay to antient and modern Rome; and this homage still continues; though the immense collections of Italian pictures made by the king and the duke of Orleans, and the master-pieces of sculpture produced in our own country have set us above the necessity of having recourse to foreign masters for assistance.

But it is in sculpture chiefly that we have excelled, and the art of casting colossal equestrian figures in one piece.

Should some future distant period discover, buried under heaps of ruins, such master-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, exposed to all the injuries of the weather in the groves of Versailles; the

tomb of cardinal Richlieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, too little known to the public; the equestrian statue of Lewis XV. made at Paris to adorn Bordeaux; the Mercury sent by this prince as a present to the king of Prussia, and so many other works of the same kind, which are not inferior: these productions of the present age might, perhaps, be compared with the most finished remains of antient Greece.

In our medals we have equalled the antients. Varin was the first who raised this art above the degree of mediocrity, towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIII. The number and variety of these which we see ranged in historical order, in that part of the gallery of the Louvre appropriated to the artists, is amazing: there are at least two millions, the greatest part of which are master-pieces in their kind.

The art of engraving on precious stones has likewise been very successfully cultivated among us. That of multiplying pictures, of perpetuating them by means of copper-plates, and of transmitting with ease to posterity all the various appearances in nature and art, was but very imperfectly known in France before this age. It is one of the most useful and agreeable of human arts. We owe the invention of it to the Florentines, among whom it first appeared about the middle of the fifteenth century; but it has been brought to greater perfection in France, than in the place of its nativity, as a much greater quantity of that kind of work has been done there. The king's collections of prints have often been considered as the most magnificent of

his presents to foreign ambassadors. Chasing in gold and in silver, which equally requires invention and taste, has been carried to the utmost perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus run through all the arts which contribute to the delight of particular persons, and the glory of the state, there still remains one to be taken notice of, which, as it is by far the most useful, so it is that in which the French excel all the nations of the world: I mean surgery, whose progress during this period was so rapid, and so celebrated, that people came to Paris from all parts of Europe, for the performance of those cures and operations that required an uncommon dexterity. Besides that good surgeons were scarce any where to be met with but in France, it was in this country alone that the instruments necessary in the art were made in perfection. From hence were all neighbouring nations supplied: and I remember to have been told by Mr. *Chefelden*, a celebrated English surgeon, that he was the first who employed people to make chirurgical instruments at London, about the year 1715. Physic, which serves to perfect surgery, did not make greater advances in France than in England, and in Holland under the famous *Boerhaave*: but we may say of it as of philosophy: it attained to perfection among us by the use we made of the discoveries of our neighbours.

Thus have I given a general and faithful description of the progress of learning and arts during this age, which began under cardinal Richlieu, and ended with our times. It will be difficult to surpass it: but if this should ever happen, it will still

be the model to those more fortunate ages to which it shall have given birth.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS: Memo- rable DISPUTES.

OF the three orders which compose the state, the least numerous, which is the church, is that which has always exacted from the sovereign a conduct mixed with the highest delicacy and art. To preserve at the same time a good understanding with the see of Rome, and maintain the liberties of the Gallican church, which are no other than those of the antient church: to know how to make the bishops obey as subjects, without incroaching upon the rights of the episcopal character; to subject them to the civil power in many things, and leave them judges in others; to make them contribute to the necessities of the state, without violating their privileges: all this requires a mixture of resolution and address, which Lewis XIV. was always master of.

The clergy of France was, by degrees, brought into a state of order and decency, from which the civil wars, and the licentiousness of the times, had occasioned it to deviate very much. The king would no longer permit laymen to hold benefices in commendam, or such as were not in priest's or-

ders, to possess bishoprics; like cardinal Mazarin, who, though not even a sub-deacon, had been invested with the bishopric of Metz; and the duke de Verneuil, who had likewise held it, though a layman.

The sum paid to the king by the clergy of France, and the conquered countries, amounted one year with another † to about two million and five hundred thousand livres; and since the increase of the numerical value of the species, they have aided the government with about four millions yearly, under the name of tenths, extraordinary subsidies, and free gifts. This title and privilege of *free gift* is still preserved, and is a remnant of that antient custom, according to which all the lords of fiefs used to contribute by voluntary donations to our kings, in the exigencies of the state. The bishops and abbots, being lords of fiefs, were only bound to furnish their proportions of troops, in the times of feudal anarchy. The kings then, like other lords, lived upon the revenues of their own domains. In the universal change that followed, the clergy still continued on their former footing, and retained the custom of aiding the state by free gifts.

To this antient custom, which a body that assembles frequently easily preserves, and which one that never assembles must necessarily lose, we are to join the immunity claimed by the church, and the maxim, that *its revenues are the revenues of the poor*: not that it pretends to a total exemption from the demands of the state, of which it holds every

† See the state of France, and Puffendorf.

thing; for the public, when its necessities are urgent, stands in the first rank of the poor. But it pleads the privilege of aiding only by voluntary supplies; and Lewis XIV. always exacted these supplies in such a manner, as to run no hazard of meeting with a refusal.

It is matter of astonishment to all Europe, as well as to France, that the clergy should pay so little, seeing they are supposed to possess a third of the revenue of the whole kingdom. Was this the case, it is past dispute that they ought to bear likewise a third of the public charge, which one year with another would come to near thirty millions, independent of the taxes on perishable commodities, which they pay in common with the rest of the subjects. But error and prejudice prevail in almost every thing. The church is supposed to possess a third of the whole annual revenue of the kingdom; just as we say at random, that Paris contains a million of inhabitants. Were we but to take the trouble of computing the revenues of the bishoprics, it would appear by the leases granted about fifty years ago, that their whole annual amount, at that time, was not supposed to exceed four millions; and the commendatory abbies were rated at four millions and five hundred thousand livres. It is true, the estimation of the leases was about a third below the real value; and if to this we add the increase of the landed revenue since, the total sum of the rents of all the consistorial benefices will make about sixteen millions: but we ought to remember, that a considerable part of this sum goes yearly to Rome, which never returns,

and is so much absolutely lost to the nation. It must be allowed a great instance of liberality in the king towards the holy see, to suffer it to plunder the state of more than four hundred thousand marks of silver in the space of a century; which in time could not fail to impoverish the kingdom, did not commerce abundantly repair the loss.

To these benefices which pay annats to Rome, we must join the curacies, convents, collegiate churches, communities, and all the other benefices together. If we compute them at fifty millions yearly upon the whole, I believe we shall come pretty near the truth.

Those who have examined this matter with the utmost exactness and attention, have not been able to extend the revenues of the whole Gallican church, secular and regular, beyond fourscore millions. The sum is far from being exorbitant, when we consider it as destined to support ninety thousand monks and nuns, and about an hundred and sixty thousand ecclesiastics, which was the number in 1700. If we divide it equally, it comes nearly to three hundred livres a head. There are conventual monks who do not cost their monastery two hundred livres a year: there are regular abbots, whose income exceeds two hundred thousand livres. It is this enormous disproportion that occasions so many complaints and murmurs. We are concerned for a country curate, whose laborious discharge of the duties of his profession entitles him only to a scanty income of three, four, or five hundred livres, while a lazy monk, not the less lazy for being made an abbot, enjoys an immense fortune, and exacts pompous titles from those under

his jurisdiction. These abuses are much more glaring in Flanders, in Spain, and especially in the Catholic states of Germany, where we sometimes meet with monks that are princes.

Abuses, by degrees, pass into laws in almost all countries. Was a number of the wisest men to assemble, with design to compose a body of laws, where is the state whose form would remain entirely the same? The clergy of France always pursue a very chargeable method, when they aid the king with a free gift of several millions for a certain term of years: they borrow the money, and after paying interest for some time, reimburse the capital to the creditors, which is paying twice. It would be more for their own and the public advantage, as well as more agreeable to reason, to aid the state by contributions proportioned to the value of their several benefices. But men can never be brought to part with ancient forms. It is from the same spirit, that the clergy, though they assemble every five years, yet have never had any public hall, nor other accommodations proper for such a body. It is apparent, however, that they might, even with less expence to themselves, have both assisted the king more effectually, and have built a palace in Paris which would have been an additional ornament to that capital.

The maxims of the French clergy, in the minority of Lewis XIV. were not entirely purged from that mixture of prejudice, which had been introduced during the time of the league. We find in the first years of Lewis XIII. and in the last assembly of the states in 1614, that the most numerous party of the nation, known by the name of the

third estate, and which indeed constitutes the main body of the state, demanded in vain, though seconded by the parliament, that it should be established as a fundamental law; "That no spiritual power can deprive kings of their sacred rights, which they hold of God alone, and that it is high treason to teach the doctrine of deposing and killing kings." This was in express terms the demand of the nation, while the blood of Henry the Great was still smoking. And yet a French bishop, born within the kingdom, the cardinal du Perron, violently opposed this proposition, under pretence that it did not belong to the third estate to propose laws which had any relation to the affairs of the church. Why then did not he himself, in conjunction with the clergy, do what was proposed by the third estate? But so far was he from any such design, that he even said publicly on that occasion; "That the power of the pope was plenary and without controul, direct in spirituals, indirect in temporals; and that he was commissioned by the clergy to declare, that they would excommunicate such as should dare to maintain, that the pope had not a power to depose kings." The nobility was gained over, and the third estate was obliged to desist from their demand. The parliament renewed their antient decrees, declaring the crown independent, and the person of the king sacred. The ecclesiastical chamber, allowing the king's person to be sacred, still persisted in maintaining that the crown was dependent. The same spirit actuated them on this occasion, which had before produced the deposition of Lewis the debonaire. This spirit prevailed to such a degree, that

the court, unable to struggle with it any longer, was obliged to imprison the printer, who had published the arret of the parliament, under the title of *the fundamental law*. This step, it was pretended, was necessary for the sake of public peace: but it was in effect to punish those who furnished the crown with defensive arms. There were no such disturbances at Vienna; France, at that time, was afraid of the pope, and the pope dreaded the power of the house of Austria.

The cause which was given up at this time by the court of France, was in reality so much the cause of all kings, that James I. king of England, wrote a book against cardinal Perron, which is by far the best of that monarch's works. It was also the cause of the people, whose repose requires, that their sovereigns be independent of any foreign power. By degrees reason has prevailed; and Lewis XIV. supported by the weight of his authority, found no great difficulty in making the voice of that reason be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended three things particularly to Henry IV. *Roma. Consejo, Pielago*. Lewis XIV. had attained to such a superiority in the two last, that he had no occasion for the first. He was particularly attentive to preserve the right of appealing to the parliament, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, in all cases where these decrees affected the prerogative royal. The clergy often complained of this proceeding, and sometimes commended it. For if on one side these appeals supported the national privileges against the episcopal authority, on the other, they strengthened that very authority, by maintaining the privileges of the

Gallican church against the pretensions of the court of Rome : infomuch, that the bishops have at different times considered the parliament as their enemies and protectors; and the government was always careful to prevent these religious quarrels from running beyond the proper bounds on either side. It is with the power of different orders and companies in a state, as with the various interests of trading cities ; the legislature must take care to hold the balance.

The most important and delicate affair of this kind, was that of the *regale*. It is a right belonging to the kings of France, to enjoy the revenues of bishoprics, and to present to the benefices dependent thereon, during the vacancy of the sees. This prerogative is peculiar to the kings of France; but every state has its privileges. The kings of Portugal are entitled to a third of the revenues of the bishoprics in their dominions. The emperor has the right of first fruits; and claims the privilege of disposing of all benefices, the first time they become vacant after his accession. The kings of Naples and Sicily have still greater privileges. Those claimed by the court of Rome are for the most part founded in custom, rather than in primitive authentic titles.

The kings of the Merovingian race conferred bishoprics and livings by their own sole authority. It seemed reasonable that they should be indulged in the inconsiderable privilege, of enjoying the revenue, and presenting to some vacant benefices of a see, during the short space that intervenes between the death of the bishop, and the registering of the oath of fidelity taken by his successor. The bi-

bishops of several cities reunited to the crown under the third race, could not be prevailed with to acknowledge this right, which their former lords had found themselves too weak to maintain. The popes declared for the bishops; and the pretensions of the several parties always remained obscure. In 1608, under Henry IV, the parliament declared the *regale* to extend over the whole kingdom. The clergy murmured; and the king, who found it for his interest to keep fair with the bishops and the court of Rome, brought the affair before the council of state, but without any intention to decide it.

The cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin issued several orders of council, by which the bishops, who pretended to be exempt from the *regale*, were obliged to shew upon what they grounded their titles. The affair still remained undetermined in 1673; and the king durst not at that time confer a single benefice, in almost any diocese beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of the see.

At last, in 1673, the chancellor Michel le Tellier issued an edict, by which all the bishoprics of the kingdom were declared subject to the *regale*. Two bishops, who unfortunately were the two most virtuous men of the nation, obstinately refused to comply with the edict. These were Pavillon bishop of Alet, and Caulet bishop of Pamiers. They defended themselves at first with very plausible reasons; to which others no less strong were opposed. When men of understanding dispute long upon any point, it is more than probable, that the question is not clear. This was indeed very obscure: but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were concerned to hinder a king from

doing that in two dioceses, which he did in all the rest. Meantime the two bishops continued inflexible: neither of them had caused his oath of fidelity to be registered; and the king thought himself intitled to dispose of all the vacant benefices in their sees.

The two bishops excommunicated those who were presented in virtue of the *regale*. Both had been suspected of Jansenism, and on that occasion found Innocent X. their enemy; but when they declared in opposition to the pretensions of the king, Innocent XI. Odescalchi immediately espoused their cause. This pope, virtuous and obstinate like themselves, engaged warmly in the quarrel.

The king at first contented himself with banishing the principal officers belonging to the bishops. He discovered greater moderation than two men, who affected a more than ordinary reputation of sanctity. The bishop of Alet was suffered to die in peace, out of regard to his great age. The bishop of Pamiers still resisted, nor could be shaken by any remonstrances or menaces. He redoubled his excommunications, and persisted in refusing to register his oath of fidelity, from a persuasion, that by such an oath, he too much subjected the church to the monarchy. The king seized his temporalities. The pope and the Jansenists so indemnified his loss, that he was rather a gainer by being deprived of his revenues. He died in 1680, fully convinced that he had supported the cause of God against the king. His death did not put an end to the quarrel: the canons named by the king came to take possession; the monks, who pretended to

be at the same time canons and grand-vicars, obliged them to quit the church, and excommunicated them. Montpeſat archbiſhop of Toulouſe, the metropolitan, to whom it of right belonged to take cogniſance of the affair, in vain gave ſentence againſt theſe pretended grand-vicars. They appealed to Rome, in conſequence of a cuſtom of referring to that court eccleſiaſtical cauſes determined by the archbiſhops of France, a cuſtom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church: but all human governments are made up of contradictions. The parliament iſſued decrees. A monk named Cerle, who was one of theſe grand-vicars, had the inſolence to repeal not only the ſentence of the metropolitan, but the decrees of the parliament. This laſt tribunal condemned him to be drawn upon a ſledge, and beheaded for contumacy. He was executed in effigy: but nothing diſmayed by all this appearance of ſeverity, he inſulted from the place of his retreat both the archbiſhop and the king. The pope openly ſupported him: nay he did ſtill more; perſuaded, like the biſhop of Pamiers, that the right of the *regale* is an abuſe in the church, and that the king had no title to confer vacant livings in that dioceſe, he reverſed the ordonnances of the archbiſhop of Toulouſe, and excommunicated the new grand-vicars nominated by that prelate, with all that enjoyed benefices in virtue of the *regale*, or favoured the pretenſions of perſons ſo inducted.

The king convened an aſſembly of the clergy, conſiſting of thirty five biſhops, and a like number of deputies of the ſecond order. The Janſeniſts,

for the first time, sided with the pope; and the pope, now at variance with the king, favoured the Jansenists, though he was far from being cordially their friend. He made a merit of opposing this monarch upon all occasions; and some time after in 1689, joined with the allies against king James for no other reason but because Lewis XIV. had declared himself his protector; insomuch that it was a common saying at that time, that to put a final period to the troubles which disturbed Europe and the church, it was necessary for king James to turn Huguenot, and the pope to become a Catholic.

Meantime the assembly of the clergy in 1681 unanimously declared for the king. The public was still engaged by another quarrel, which, though inconsiderable in the beginning, grew by degrees to be very important. The election to a priory in the suburbs of Paris set the king and the pope at variance. The Roman pontiff had repealed an ordonnance of the archbishop of Paris, and annulled his nomination to that priory. The parliament appealed against this as an abuse of the papal authority. The pope, by a bull, ordered the inquisition to burn the parliament's decree; and the parliament enjoined the suppression of the bull. These contests have, for several ages, been the ordinary and necessary consequence of that ancient mixture of the natural liberty which every country claims in governing within itself, and of submission to a foreign power.

The assembly of the clergy took a course, which shows that men of prudence can yield with dignity to their sovereign, without the intervention of a

other power. They consented that the right of the *regale* should extend over the whole kingdom; but this consent was as much a concession on the part of the clergy, who dropped their pretensions out of regard to their protector, as a formal avowal of any absolute right in the crown.

The assembly excused themselves to the pope by a letter, in which there is a passage, which ought to serve as an eternal and invariable rule of conduct in all disputes of this kind: *It is better (say they) to sacrifice a part of one's rights, than to endanger the public peace.* The king, the Gallican church, and the parliament, were satisfied. The Jansenists wrote some libels: the pope continued inflexible. He reversed by a brief all the resolutions of the assembly, and wrote to the bishops to retract their concessions. Here was ground enough to separate for ever the church of France from that of Rome. There had been some talk, under the cardinals Richlien and Mazarin, of erecting a patriarch. It was the ardent desire of all the magistrates, that France should no longer pay *annats* to Rome: that the pope should not have the privilege of presenting to the benefices of Bretagne during six months of the year; and that the bishops of France should no longer stile themselves bishops *by the permission of the holy see.* Had the king been inclined to take this step, the least intimation of his pleasure was sufficient. He was master of the voices in the assembly of the clergy, and the nation was in his interest. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of a virtuous pope, who alone, of all the pontiffs of that age, could not

comply with the times. But there are certain antient boundaries, which cannot be passed without causing violent shocks. It required greater interest, stronger passions, and the minds of the people wrought up to a more violent pitch, to break all at once with Rome; nor could such a separation have been easily effected, while they persisted in the design of extirpating Calvinism. It was even looked upon as a bold step, to publish the four famous decisions of this very assembly of the clergy in 1682, the substance of which was as follows.

1. God has not given to *Peter* and his successors, any power, direct or indirect, in temporal matters.

2. The Gallican church approves the council of Constance, which declares general councils superior to the pope in spirituals.

3. The rules, usages, and customs received in the kingdom, and in the Gallican church, ought always to remain without variation.

4. The decisions of the pope, in matters of faith, are not binding, till after the church has accepted them.

All the courts of justice, all the faculties of theology registered these four propositions in their utmost latitude; and an edict appeared, forbidding any one to maintain the contrary.

This firmness was regarded at Rome as an effort of rebellion; and by all the protestants of Europe, as a feeble attempt of a church naturally free, whose resolution had enabled her only to break four links of her chains.

These four maxims were at first maintained with a kind of enthusiasm in the nation; but by

degrees it began to abate. Towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV. they were considered as questions liable to dispute; and cardinal Fleury has since caused them to be in part disavowed by an assembly of the clergy, without the least noise arising from such a disavowal. The reason is, that the minds of men were not then so much heated, and because under the ministry of cardinal Fleury nothing was done with éclat.

Meantime Innocent XI. was exasperated more than ever: he refused bulls to all the bishops, and to all the commendatory abbots nominated by the king; insomuch that at the death of this pope in 1689, there were no less than nine and twenty dioceses in France without bishops. These prelates, it is true, were not the less entitled to their revenues; but they durst not be consecrated, or exercise any of the episcopal functions. The proposal of creating a patriarch was again renewed. The quarrel about the rights of ambassadors at Rome, which served to widen the breach still more, made many believe, that the time was at last come, for establishing a *Catholic apostolic* church in France, which should no longer bear the title of Roman. The procurator general De Harlai, and the advocate general Talon, gave reason enough to confirm this persuasion, by appealing, in 1687, from the bull against the franchises, and exclaiming against the obstinacy of the pope, in suffering so many churches to remain without pastors. But the king could never be brought to agree to this proposal, which though bold in outward appearance, would have proved easy enough in the execution.

Mean while the cause of Innocent XI. became the cause of the holy see. The four propositions adopted by the clergy of France attacked the phantom of the pope's infallibility, (which though far from being believed, is nevertheless warmly supported at Rome) and the real power attached to that phantom. Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed the steps of their intractable predecessor Odescalchi, though with less vigour. They confirmed the sentence passed against the assembly of the clergy; they refused to send bulls to the bishops; in fine, they did too much, because Lewis XIV. had not done enough. The bishops, tired of a bare nomination by the king, without the liberty of exercising their functions, applied to the court of France for permission to appease the court of Rome.

The king, whose firmness began to be shaken no longer opposed the reconciliation desired. Accordingly they wrote every one separately to the pope, expressing their dislike of the proceeding of the assembly, and declaring that they did not consider themselves as bound by what had been there decided and decreed. Pignatelli, (Innocent XII.) more placable than Odescalchi, was satisfied with this declaration. The four propositions were nevertheless still taught in France: but when matters were appeased, the eagerness of contention ceased, and the dispute remained in a kind of uncertainty, without any positive decision, as almost always happens in cases of this nature, when a state has no fixed and invariable principles to go by. Thus sometimes we oppose, sometimes yield to the encroachments of the court of Rome, according

the variety of conjunctures, the different characters of our governors, or the particular interests of those who influence their determinations.

Lewis XIV. had no quarrel besides this with the court of Rome in ecclesiastical matters, nor ever experienced the least opposition from his clergy in temporal concerns.

Under him the clergy became venerable, by a decency of behaviour unknown to the barbarism of the two first races of our kings, and the still more barbarous times of the feudal government. Nor do we meet with the least traces of it during the civil wars, the commotions in the reign of Lewis XIII. or the agitations occasioned by the Fronde, some few particular instances excepted, for which allowance must always be made, whether we speak of the prevailing vices or virtues of a nation.

It was then first that endeavours began to be used, to open the eyes of the people in relation to the superstitions they are so apt to mingle with their religion. It was no longer accounted criminal to know, (whatever sentiments the parliament of Aix, or the Carmelites might entertain,) that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen had never been in Provence. The Benedictines could gain no credit to their assertion, that Dionysius the Areopagite had governed the church of Paris. Supposed saints, pretended miracles, false relics, began to lose repute. Sound reason, which had produced such a reformation in philosophy, penetrated every where, though slowly, and with difficulty.

The bishop of Chalons, Gaston Lewis de Noailles, brother to the cardinal, joined so much good sense to his piety, that in 1702, he caused

take away and destroy a relic preserved with great care for many ages in the church of Notre-Dame, and adored under the name of the *navel* of Jesus Christ. All Chalons murmured against the bishop, Presidents, counsellors, kings, officers, treasurers of France, merchants, principal citizens, canons, curates, protested unanimously and in form against the attempt of the bishop, demanding to have the holy *navel* restored, and alleging the robe of Jesus Christ preserved at Argenteuil, his handkerchief at Turin and at Laon, one of the nails of the cross at St. Denis, and his prepuce at Rome. But the prudent firmness of the bishop prevailed in the end over the credulity of the people.

Some other superstitions, attached to respected usages, still subsist: the protestants triumph on this account; but at the same time are forced to acknowledge, that there is no Catholic country, where these abuses are less common, or treated with more contempt than in France.

The truly philosophical spirit, which did not prevail till towards the middle of this age, was not capable of extinguishing the ancient and modern disputes of divines, which come not properly within its province. We shall now speak of these dissensions, which are indeed a scandal to human reason.

C H A P T E R XXXII.

O F C A L V I N I S M.

IT is doubtless a melancholy consideration, that the Christian church has always been torn by dissensions, and that so much blood should have been shed for so many ages, by hands, destined to carry the symbols of the God of peace. This furious zeal was unknown to paganism. It indeed covered the earth with darkness, but it scarce ever occasioned any blood to be spilt, except that of animals; and if sometimes, as among the Jews and heathens, human victims were offered to the deity; these sacrifices, horrible as they were, never produced civil wars. The religion of the heathens consisted wholly in morality and festivals. Morality, which is the same at all times, and in all places, and festivals, which were no more than public rejoicings, could never disturb the peace of mankind.

The dogmatic spirit introduced among men that furious zeal which gave rise to religious wars. I have often endeavoured to find out, from whence it should proceed, that this dogmatical spirit which divided the schools of antiquity among the heathens, without causing the least disturbance, should be productive of so many fatal disorders among us. This cannot be the effect of fanaticism alone; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fa-

natic of men, never did hurt to any but themselves. We are more likely to find the origin of this new pest which has laid waste the world, in the republican spirit that animated the first churches. Those secret assemblies, which from their caves and recesses, braved the authority of the Roman emperors, formed by degrees a state within a state. It was in reality a concealed republic within the empire. Constantine drew it from its retreat under ground, to place it on a level with the throne. In a short time, the authority, attached to the great sees, was found to run counter to that popular spirit, which had then animated all the assemblies of Christians. It frequently happened, that when the bishop of a metropolis uttered a sentiment, a suffragan bishop, priest, or a deacon, maintained the direct contrary. The ancient opinions, since revived by Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin, tended in a great measure to destroy the episcopal authority, and even monarchical power itself. This, though a secret, was yet one of the principal causes, which procured ready a reception for these opinions in the north of Germany, where the grandeur of the popes began to give offence, and people dreaded being brought under servitude by the emperors. In Sweden and Denmark, where the people enjoy a large share of liberty under their monarchs, these notions were seen in a particular manner to triumph.

The English, whom nature has tinctured with a strong spirit of independence, adopted, softened, and formed them into a religion for themselves. They penetrated into Poland, and made great progress in those cities only, where the people were reduced to a state of slavery. Switzerland, as

ing a republican country, made no scruple to receive them. They were upon the point of being established at Venice for the same reason; and doubtless would have taken root there, had not that city been so near Rome; and had not the government, as there is reason to believe, dreaded a democracy, which was the great point aimed at by these pretended reformers. The Dutch did not embrace this religion, till after they had shaken off the yoke of Spain. Geneva, in submitting to Calvinism, became a popular state. The house of Austria took all imaginable pains to check the growth of these sects in their dominions. Spain from the very first kept them at a distance: nor do we find that they occasioned any great troubles in France during the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. who were in a manner absolute princes. But when the government became weak and divided, the quarrels about religion rose to a violent height. The Condes and Colignis declaring themselves Calvinists, because the Guises sided with the Catholics, involved the kingdom in confusion. The natural levity and impetuosity of the nation, joined to the rage of novelty and enthusiasm, changed us, for forty years together, from a polite and civilized people, to a nation of barbarians.

Henry IV. born in this sect, which he really loved, without being in any degree a bigot, found it impossible, notwithstanding all his victories and virtues, to get possession of his kingdom without abandoning Calvinism. After he became a Catholic, gratitude would not permit him to seek the destruction of a party, naturally the enemy of kings, to which he was indebted for his crown; and

even had he been inclined to make the attempt, he would have miscarried. He therefore cherished, protected, and restrained it.

The Huguenots in France did not at that time make above a twelfth of the nation. But a great many powerful lords were of their party: entire cities were protestant. They had made war against their sovereigns, who had been constrained to put into their hands several places of strength for their security. Henry III. had granted them no less than fourteen in Dauphiny only; Montauban and Nîmes in Languedoc; Saumur, and above all, Rochelle which formed a republic of itself, and by its commerce and alliance with England, was like to become very powerful. In fine, Henry IV. seemed to act conformably to his own inclination, as well as from a principle of policy and gratitude, in granting them the famous edict of Nantes, in 1598. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of the privileges which the protestants of France had extorted from former princes sword in hand, and which Henry the great, when he was firmly settled on his throne, secured to them by a voluntary grant.

By this edict, which the name of Henry IV. has rendered more famous than any other, every lord of a fief, whose power extended to capital offences, was permitted the free and unrestrained exercise of the pretended reformed religion within his own castle: every lord, without capital jurisdiction, might have thirty persons present at divine worship in his family. The full and plenary exercise of this religion was authorized in all places under the immediate jurisdiction of a parliament.

The Calvinists might print books, without applying to their superiors for a licence, in all cities where the exercise of their religion was permitted.

They were declared capable of all the several offices and dignities of the state, and, in fact, enjoyed their share, the king having created the lords De la Trimouille, and De Roni, dukes and peers of France.

A particular chamber was formed in the parliament of Paris, consisting of a president and sixteen counsellors, to whom were referred all causes in which Huguenots were concerned, not only in the immense district of the jurisdiction of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Bretagne. This court was entitled, the chamber of the edict. Indeed there never was above one Calvinist admitted among the counsellors of this jurisdiction: but as the main design of it was to prevent those vexations of which the party complained, and as men always value themselves on the faithful discharge of a trust by which they are distinguished; this chamber, though composed of Catholics, always rendered the most exact justice to the Huguenots, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a kind of little parliament at Castres, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise courts of justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, whose judges were one half Roman-catholics, and the other Calvinists. Their churches were permitted to assemble in synods, in the same manner as the Gallican church. These privileges, and a great many others, incorporated the Calvinists

into a distinct body among themselves. It was, in effect, suffering enemies to league together: but the authority, the address, and the equal behaviour of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After the dreadful fall, and never enough to be lamented death of Henry IV. during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the Reformed, not to abuse their privileges, or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt the restraining them. The Huguenots had already established *Circles* in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The deputies of those circles were frequently men of a turbulent spirit; and several lords of the party were noted for an unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke of Rohan, who stood in the first degree of credit among the Huguenots, soon hurried the restless spirit of the preachers, and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general assembly of the party, in 1615, had the assurance to present a remonstrance to the court, in which, among other injurious articles, they demanded that the king's council should be changed. In 1616, they took up arms in several places; and the audacious behaviour of the Huguenots, joined to the divisions of the court, the hatred against the favourites, and the unquiet state of the nation, filled all places for some time with confusion and disorder. Nothing was to be seen but seditions, intrigues, hostile confederacies, insurrections, treaties concluded in haste, and broken as soon as signed; which made the celebrated cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time

nuncio in France, say, that during his residence, the climate had produced nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the Calvinist churches of France offered Lefdiguieres, that soldier of fortune who was afterwards made constable, the command of their armies, and a hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lefdiguieres, more clear-sighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them perfectly, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them, than be at their head; and, instead of accepting their offers, turned Catholic. The Huguenots then addressed themselves to the marshal duke de Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. In fine, they conferred that unhappy employment upon the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubise, had the insolence to make war upon the king of France.

The same year the constable de Luines carried Lewis XIII. from province to province. He subdued upwards of fifty cities, almost without resistance; but miscarried before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain; being not less indebted for its resistance to its own strength, than to the succours it received from England; and the duke of Rohan, guilty of the crime of high treason, concluded a peace with his sovereign, as if one crowned head had been treating with another.

After this peace, and after the death of the constable de Luines, the war broke out anew, and the king was again obliged to lay siege to Rochelle, al-

ways in league against its sovereign with the English, and the Calvinists of the kingdom. A woman (the mother of the duke of Rohan) defended this city a whole year against the royal army, against the activity of cardinal Richlieu, and against the intrepidity of Lewis XIII, who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the inconveniences of the most extreme famine; and did not surrender at last, but in consequence of that prodigious mole of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richlieu ordered to be made, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raised before Tyre. It was begun by a Frenchman named Tiriot, finished by Pompey Targon, and subdued the sea and the Rochellers. The mayor Guiton, who sought to bury himself under the ruins of Rochelle, had the boldness, after surrendering at discretion, to appear with his guards before cardinal Richlieu; the mayors of the principal Huguenot cities being permitted the privilege of guards. Guiton's were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privilege. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war against his prince; and being abandoned by the English, though Protestants, entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, though Roman-catholics. But the firmness of cardinal Richlieu forced the Huguenots at last, after seeing themselves defeated on all sides, to submit without reserve.

All the edicts, granted them before this time, had been so many formal treaties with their sovereigns. Richlieu was resolved, that the one yielded to them on this occasion should be called *the edict of grace*. The king in it speaks in the stile of a prince who

pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhee, Oleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in all other points, Lewis XIII. thought proper to confirm the edict of Nantes, which the Calvinists always regarded as their fundamental law.

Many thought it strange, that cardinal Richieu, so absolute and bold in all his proceedings, did not totally abolish this famous edict; but at that time he had other views, more difficult, perhaps, in the execution, yet not less conformable to the extent of his ambition, and the height of his designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he imagined himself able to accomplish, by the superiority of his understanding, of his power, and of his politics. His project was to gain the ministers; to bring them first to acknowledge, that the Roman-catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them afterwards, by degrees, to give up some points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome as if he had yielded nothing at all. He flattered himself with the hopes of dazzling one party of the reformed; of seducing another by presents and pensions; and of uniting them all, at least in outward appearance, to the church, leaving it to time to accomplish the rest, and feeding his ambition with the glorious prospect of having either effected or paved the way to this great work, and passing with posterity for the author of it. The famous father Joseph on one side, and two ministers he had gained on the other, charged themselves with this negotiation. But it appeared

that cardinal Richlieu had carried his expectations too far, and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of divines, than to raile moles in the ocean.

Richlieu, finding himself disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but other cares interposing, prevented the execution of this design. He found himself under a necessity of combating at the same time the grandees of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole house of Austria, and often Lewis XIII. himself. He died at last amidst all these storms, suddenly, before he was able to complete any of his designs, leaving behind him a name rather dazzling than dear and venerable.

Mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the edict of grace, the civil wars ceased, and the animosity of the two parties vented itself only in disputes and controversy. Then were produced those voluminous compositions, which no-body now takes the trouble to read. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Huguenots. The Huguenot preachers endeavoured to bring over some Catholics to their opinions. The king's council was employed in issuing arrets about burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some land formerly belonging to the church; about schools the jurisdiction of castles, interments, bells; but the Reformed seldom gained their suit. These trifling contests were all that now remained, after the former devastations and ravage. The Huguenots since the duke of Rohan, and the divesting the house of Bouillon of the sovereignty of Sedan had no leader qualified to take the charge of the

affairs. They even valued them not a little on the pacific conduct they observed during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the bishops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their service against cardinal Mazarin.

Religion had no part in the quarrels that distracted the kingdom during the life of this minister; who far from being tenacious on that article, made no scruple to bestow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Huguenot of English extraction, named Hervard; and admitted the Huguenots, without reserve, into all the offices depending on the revenue.

Colbert, who revived the industry of the nation, and whom we ought to look upon as the father and founder of our commerce, employed a great number of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful engagements, which ingrossed the greatest part of their time, softened by degrees the prevailing rage of controversy; and the glory which for fifty years together surrounded the throne of Lewis XIV. joined to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as it did in the several orders of the state, the least idea of resistance. The magnificent feasts of a gay and gallant court, threw an air of ridicule upon the pedantry of the Huguenots. In proportion as good taste gained ground, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to lose their credit. These psalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II. appeared to be only calculated for the populace under Lewis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its

way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped still more to put men out of conceit with religious disputes.

But while reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the tranquillity of the state. For the Jansenists, beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, engrossed a considerable share of the attention of those who were fond of such subtilties. They wrote at the same time against the Jesuits and Huguenots: these last employed themselves in answering the Jansenists and Jesuits: the Lutherans in the province of Alsace attacked all the three. A paper war amongst so many different sects, at a time when the state was engaged in great designs, and the government was powerful and flourishing, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, the mere amusement of the idle part of the nation, which sooner or later always dwindles into indifference.

Lewis XIV. was exasperated against the sectaries, by the continual remonstrances of the clergy, by the insinuations of the Jesuits, by the court of Rome, and, in fine, by the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his son, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to extirpate the Reformed as rebels, because Colbert protected them as useful subjects. Lewis XIV. wholly a stranger to the fundamentals of their doctrine, regarded them, not without some reason, as old revolvers, who bore the yoke with reluctance. He applied himself first to undermine by degrees the whole fabric of their religion. Churches were taken from them on the most slender prettexts. They were forbid to marry

the daughters of Catholics; of which, however, the policy does not so well appear; as it seems to argue an ignorance of the power of a sex, which the court in other respects knew so perfectly. The intendants and bishops, by the most plausible contrivances, endeavoured to get the children of the Huguenots into their hand. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any person of this religion into the employments of the revenue. They were excluded, as much as possible, from the mechanic and trading corporations. The king, amidst a conduct so rigorous, did not always make them feel the whole weight of their servitude. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities; and the oppressions they laboured under, were at least covered over with a form of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used; I mean money. But this expedient was not pushed so far as it might. Pellisson had the charge of this secret service; the same who is so well known by his long adherence to Calvinism, by his writings, by his copious eloquence, and by his attachment to the superintendant Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened his way to fortune and preferment. He took the ecclesiastical habit, obtained several benefices, and a place of master of requests. The king, towards the year 1677, intrusted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain des Pres, and Cluni, to be employed in effecting conversions. Cardinal Camus, bishop of

Grenoble, had already pursued the same course. Pellisson, charged with this negotiation, sent money into the provinces. Endeavours were used to effect many conversions at a moderate expence: small sums, distributed to the indigent, swelled the list which Pellisson every three months presented to the king, and contributed to persuade him, that every thing gave way to his power or his generosity.

The council, encouraged by this small success, which time might have rendered more considerable, adventured, in 1681, to publish a declaration, by which children were permitted to renounce their religion at the age of seven years. In consequence of this declaration, great numbers of children were seized in the provinces, with a view to make them abjure; and troops were quartered upon their parents.

This precipitation of the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his son, was the occasion that in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom: and strangers with eagerness took advantage of it.

The kings of England and Denmark, and especially the city of Amsterdam, invited the Calvinists of France to take refuge in their territories, promising to provide amply for their subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for their reception.

The council perceived the dangerous consequences of a too early use of authority, and hoped to find in that very authority a remedy for the evil. They were sensible how necessary artifice

and seamen were, in a country where commerce flourished, and at a time when designs were on foot to establish a naval power. The punishment of the gallies was denounced against all of these professions who should attempt to quit the kingdom.

It was observed, that a great number of Calvinist families sold their estates. Immediately a proclamation appeared, confiscating all those estates, in case the seller should leave the kingdom within the space of a year. The persecution was now redoubled against the ministers; their churches were taken from them upon the most frivolous pretences; and all the rents left by will to their consistories, were applied to the hospitals of the kingdom.

The masters of Calvinist schools were not permitted to receive boarders. The ministers were loaded with taxes. Protestant mayors were deprived of their privileges. The officers of the king's household, and the king's secretaries who were protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were admitted either among the notaries, solicitors or advocates.

It was strongly recommended to all the clergy, to be very diligent in making profelytes; and the protestant ministers were forbid to make any, under pain of perpetual banishment. All these ordinances were publicly solicited by the clergy of France, who stiled themselves the children of the household, that were resolved to have no part with strange children introduced by force.

Pelisson continued to expend considerable sums in making converts. But madam Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, ani-

mated with that zeal for her religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to the sex, sent as much money into the provinces to prevent these conversions, as Pellisson had done to procure them.

At last the Huguenots had the courage to disobey in some provinces. They assembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. But this was only a small spark of the fire of our antient civil wars. Two or three hundred miserable wretches, without a leader, without places of strength, and even without designs, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the minister Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantes, to be broke upon the wheel. He is accounted one of the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has long been held in veneration by the protestants.

The intendant Baviile, in Languedoc, caused the minister Chomel to be broke alive upon the wheel. Three more were sentenced to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they escaped the execution by flight, and suffered only in effigy.

All this inspired terror, and at the same time served to confirm men in an obstinate adherence to their opinions. It is well known, that our attachment to any religion grows stronger, in proportion as we suffer for its sake.

About this time it was insinuated to the king that after having sent missionaries into all the pro-

vinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences, which seem to have been very ill timed, were a consequence of the spirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Lewis XIV. It was not considered, that the Huguenots were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras: that the rage of civil war was extinguished; that the malady which had so long afflicted the nation was almost spent; that every thing among men has its period; that if the fathers had been rebels under Lewis XIII. their sons were become good subjects under Lewis XIV. It appeared in England, in Holland, in Germany, that many different sects, who had torn one another to pieces during the last age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute king might be equally well served by Catholics and by Protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace demonstrated this beyond all contradiction.

Lewis XIV. who, upon seizing Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner with respect to Calvinism, and left it to time to abolish it insensibly; as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined, that in forcing a great number of his subjects to abandon their religion, he would not lose many more, who in spite of all his edicts and guards, would find means to withdraw themselves from a violence, which they termed a horrible persecution? Why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both

Protestants and Catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of *Great*? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. The king about this very time had openly quarrelled with Innocent XI. the avowed enemy of France. But Lewis XIV. equally attached to the interests of his religion and his grandeur, was resolved to humble the pope with one hand, and crush Calvinism with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to idolatry. The bishops, many intendants, the whole council, made him believe that the bare appearance of his troops was sufficient to complete what his liberalities and missions had already begun. He thought he did no more than exert his authority; but those, to whom that authority was committed, proceeded with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV. still powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution obtained the name of the *Dragonade*.

The frontiers were guarded with all possible care, to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be re-united to the church. It was

kind of chace carried on within a large enclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a subdelegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families were assembled, those especially who were judged most likely to submit. They renounced their religion in the name of the rest; and such as continued obstinate were given up to the mercy of the soldiers, who had every licence except that of killing: yet many were treated with so much cruelty, as to die soon after of the usage they had received. The posterity of the refugees, in foreign countries, still exclaim against this persecution of their fathers; comparing it to the most violent the church sustained in the primitive ages of christianity.

It afforded a strange contrast, to behold such cruel and merciless orders issued from the bosom of a voluptuous court, eminent for softness of manners, the graces, and all the endearing charms of social life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appears conspicuous in this whole affair; and points out to our observation the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards laid the Palatinate in ashes. There are still extant several letters under his own hand, dated in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is his majesty's pleasure, that such as refuse to conform to his religion be proceeded against with the utmost rigour, and that those who affect the foolish glory of be-

“ing the last to comply, shall be pushed to the last
“extremity.”

Paris was not exposed to these vexations: the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus demolished in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantes was at last revoked in the month of October 1685; which completed the ruin of the Protestant cause, already weakened and undermined on all sides.

The chamber of the edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council appeared, one upon the neck of another, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which proved the most fatal was, the order for seizing the children of the pretended Reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never put in execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which revoked that of Nantes, the way was paved to an event, directly contrary to what was intended. The government aimed at reuniting the Calvinists to the national church. Gourville, a man of a clear and piercing judgment, counselled Louvois, as is well known, to imprison all the ministers, and release only such as, being gained by secret pensions, would agree to abjure in public, and might thereby contribute more to the projected reunion, than the missionaries and soldiers. But instead of

following this politic advice, an edict appeared, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the realm in fifteen days. It was blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming unreasonably upon power, and argued very little knowlege of mankind, to believe that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations warmed with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts of France, would not run all hazards to go and publish their constancy and the glory of their exile among strangers, when so many nations, envious of the fortune of Lewis XIV. were ready with open arms to receive them.

The old chancellor Tellier, when he signed the edict, cried with an air of joy: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* He did not imagine that what he then signed would be productive of the greatest mischief to France.

Louvois his son no less deceived himself in believing, that a bare order from his hand was sufficient for the guard of the frontiers, and all the sea coasts, and to prevent the escape of such as thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, always proves an overmatch for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards sufficed for the escape of a multitude of refugees. Near fifty thousand families, within the space of three years, left the kingdom, and were afterwards followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches among strangers. Al-

most all the north of Germany, a country hitherto rude, and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes of refugees transplanted thither, who peopled intire cities. Stuffs, lace, hats, stockings, formerly imported from France, were now made in those countries. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled intirely with French manufacturers in silk: others carried thither the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of species, and above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange had entire regiments of refugees. Some settled even at the Cape of Good-hope. The nephew of the celebrated du Queene, lieutenant general of the marine, founded a colony at that extremity of the earth.

It was to no purpose to fill the prisons and galleys with those who had been caught endeavouring to make their escape. What could be done with such a multitude of wretches, whom the hardships they suffered served only to confirm in their belief? How could persons bred to the law or infirm old men, be made to serve in the galleys? Some hundreds embarked for America. At last the council imagined, that by leaving the frontiers open, desertions would become less frequent as men would no longer be instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying. But this was found to be a mistake; and after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

After demolishing all the churches of the reformed, and banishing their pastors, the great point was, to retain in the Roman communion such as through persuasion or fear had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom, who were obliged to go to mass and communicate. Some, who after embracing the catholic religion, rejected the host, were sentenced to be burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacraments at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle, and denied Christian burial.

Persecution never fails to make proselytes, especially when it is exerted during the heat of the enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled to sing their psalms, though the penalty of death was denounced against all who should be found at such assemblies. Ministers returning into the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of five thousand five hundred livres was to be given to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, who were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, though crushed in appearance, still subsisted. It vainly flattered itself, in the war of 1689. that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law for being a catholic, would support Calvinism in France. But in the war of 1701, fanaticism produced a rebellion in Languedoc.

It was now some considerable time, since in the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certain persons had appeared, who pretended to the gifts of inspiration and prophecy. An old Huguenot, named De Serres, had there kept a school of pro-

phets. He directed children to those words of scripture which say, "That where two or three
" are met together in my name, my spirit shall
" be in the midst of them; and if you had faith
" like a grain of mustard seed, you would be
" able to remove mountains." He afterwards
received the spirit, fell into extasies, convulsions
and change of voice: remained immoveable, with
his hair standing on end, and with all the symptoms
of a man beside himself, according to the ancient
usage of all nations, and the rules of prophetic
madness transmitted from age to age. The youths
under his care were soon seized with the same pro-
phesying humour; and if they were not able to
remove mountains, it was because they had faith
enough to receive the spirit, but not to work mi-
racles: accordingly they redoubled their fervour
for the obtaining of this last gift.

While the Cevennes were thus become a school
of enthusiasm, some of the ministers, whom they
called *apostles*, returned secretly to preach among
the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in
Nimes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and
in the highest reputation among foreigners, re-
turned to preach in his own country in 1698. He
was found guilty, not only of preaching contrary
to the edicts, but of having about ten years be-
fore, held intelligence with the enemies of the
state. The intendant Baviile condemned him to
be broke upon the wheel. He died after the man-
ner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect,
all foreign protestants, forgetting that he was a cri-

Ch. 32.

criminal of state, considered him only as a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood.

Upon this, prophets multiplied, and the spirit of frenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703. an abbe of the house of Chailat, an overseer of the missions in those parts, obtained an order from the court, to shut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. The abbe, instead of conducting them to the convent, carried them first to his own castle. The Calvinists flocked together, forced the gates, and delivered the two young ladies, besides some other prisoners. The sedition encreasing, they seized the abbe du Chailat; but offered him his life, on condition he would change his religion. The abbe refused; upon which one of their prophets cried, *Die then, the spirit condemns you, your sin be upon your own head:* and immediatly he was shot to death. Soon after, they seized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their scrolls about their necks. Then they fell upon all the priests they met, massacring them without distinction. Troops being sent in quest of them, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number increased. Their prophets and prophetesses foretold, on the part of the Almighty, the re-establishment of Jerusalem, and the fall of Babylon. The abbe de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly at their head, amidst these savage retreats, and furnished them with money and arms.

He was son of the marquis de Guiscard, the king's sub-governor, who was one of the wisest men in the kingdom. This young nobleman, little worthy of such a father, having fled into Holland on account of some crime, endeavoured to

excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after he repaired to London, where he was arrested for betraying the English minister, as he had before betrayed his country. When he was brought before the council, he snatched from the table one of those long pen knives with which a murder may be committed, and wounded the lord treasurer Harley. This occasioned his being sent to prison, and loaded with irons, where he prevented the punishment he must otherwise have undergone, by a voluntary death. This was the man, who in the name of the English, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured them secretly. Their cry was, *Liberty of conscience and no taxes*; which seduced the populace every where and justified Lewis XIV's design of extirpating Calvinism. But without the revocation of the edict of Nantes, these madmen would never have taken up arms.

The king first sent the marshal de Montrevault with some troops, who made war upon these wretches in the manner they deserved, by ordering the prisoners to be burnt alive, or broke upon the wheel. But the soldiers that fell into their hands were likewise made to expire amidst the most cruel torments. The king, who had so many enemies upon his hands, could only send a few troops against them. It was difficult to surprise them amidst almost inaccessible rocks, in caverns in woods whither they retired by unfrequent paths, and whence they sallied like wild beasts. They even defeated in a set battle the regiment

marines. Three marshals of France were successively employed against them. Marshal Mont-revel was in 1704. succeeded by Marshal Villars.

As it was more difficult to find them out than to defeat them, the marshal de Villars, after rendering himself sufficiently formidable to them, proposed a general pardon. Some among them finding themselves disappointed of the succours promised by the duke of Savoy, thought proper to accept of the offer.

The most considerable of their chiefs, and indeed the only one who deserves to be mentioned, was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and England. He was a fair man, of small stature, and a very agreeable engaging countenance. He was called David by those of his party; and from a baker's son, at the age of twenty three, had raised himself to be chief over a great multitude of people, partly by his courage, and partly by means of a prophetess, who procured him to be acknowledged as such, in consequence of an express order of the Holy Ghost. Marshal Villars found him at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment. When the amnesty was proposed, he demanded hostages, which were accordingly sent. He came to Nimes, attended by one of the chiefs, where he treated with marshal Villars.

He undertook to form the revolters into four regiments, who were to serve the king under four colonels, of which he was to be the first himself, with the privilege of naming the other three. These regiments were to be permitted the free exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the

pay of France; but this freedom was allowed nowhere else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries arrived from Holland, who endeavoured to prevent their being carried into execution by presents and promises. They drew off the most considerable of the fanatics from their engagements to Cavalier, who having passed his word to the marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted the commission of a colonel, and began to form his regiment with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued attached to him.

I have heard the marshal Villars often relate that asking this young man, how at his years he could acquire so much authority among a headstrong undisciplined rabble; he received for answer, that when at any time they refused to obey his prophets, whom they termed the *Great Mary*, was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned the refractory, who were put to death without form of trial. This passage is to be found in the real memoirs of the marshal Villars: the first tome is certainly his; it is agreeable to the manuscript which I have seen; the two other tomes are of another hand, and quite different. Having myself afterwards put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This singular negociation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV. who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace under the name of an amnesty, with a journeyman baker's son; and marshal Villars presented him with the commission of colonel, and a brief for a pension of twelve hundred livres.

The new colonel went to Versailles to receive the orders of the minister of war. The king saw him and shrugged up his shoulders. The ministry kept a watchful eye on Cavalier; who, distrusting them, withdrew into Piedmont, whence he passed into Holland and England. He served in Spain, where he had the command of a regiment. He died a general officer, and governor of the isle of Guernsey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of fanaticism, which was no longer supported by example.

Marshal Villars, being recalled from Languedoc, was replaced by marshal Berwick. The ill success of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from Heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was remitted to them by the way of Geneva: they had a promise of officers from Holland and England; and held intelligence in all the towns in the province.

We may rank in the number of their greatest conspiracies, that which formed to seize the duke of Berwick, and the intendant Baville in Nîmes, to cause Languedoc and Dauphine to revolt, and to introduce the enemy into these provinces. The secret was kept by upwards of a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person brought all to light. More than two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick spared none of these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hand; others upon wheels

or amidst flames. A few, more given to prophecy than fighting, found means to escape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as messengers from Heaven. They came forth to meet them chanting psalms, and strewing the way with boughs of trees. These prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the episcopal church there had too much affinity with that of Rome, they strove to make their own bear sway. Their confidence was so strong, that not doubting but with a great deal of faith, great miracles might be wrought, they offered to raise a person from the dead, and even any one chosen at pleasure. The people are every where the same, and the presbyterians might have joined the fanatics in opposition to the church of England. The English ministry took the course which should always be taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards; every thing passed juridically and in form; and the scene ended with sentencing the prophets to stand in the pillory.

Mean while in France, time, the prudence of the government, and the progress of reason, have by degrees rendered the Calvinists quiet: their number is diminished, and the rage of their enthusiasm abated.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of JANSENISM.

SUCH was the nature of Calvinism, that it necessarily produced civil wars, and shook the foundation of states. Jansenism could only raise theological disputes, and paper wars; for the reformers of the fifteenth century having broken all the ties whereby the Romish church held mankind; having treated what she esteemed most sacred as idolatry; having thrown open her cloisters, and given up her treasures into the hands of the laity, it followed of consequence, that one of the two parties must be subdued by the other: and the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in reality in any country without being the cause of blood-shed.

But the Jansenists did not attack the church, by striking at her fundamental points, nor by aiming at her wealth; but writing upon abstracted questions, sometimes against the Calvinists, sometimes against the Catholics, and against the Pope's decrees, they at last lost all credit; and their sect is now despised, though it has been supported by several persons eminent for their characters and abilities.

Even at the time when the Huguenots attracted a serious attention, Jansenism rather made a noise in France than any real disturbance. The dis-

putes about this doctrine, like many others, had their rise abroad. A certain doctor of Louvain, named Michael Bay, called Baius, according to the pedantic humour of those times, in 1552. took upon him to maintain some propositions upon grace and predestination. This question, like almost all others in metaphysics, had its origin in the intricate mazes of fatality and free-will, wherein all ages have been bewildered, and in which mankind have no guide to conduct them.

An inquisitive temper has been implanted in us for good purposes, by the Author of nature: it is a necessary incitement to promote our instruction; but it often transports us beyond the proper bounds; in the same manner as many other passions of the soul, which, if unable to carry us to such an extravagant length, would not perhaps be sufficient to carry us far enough.

Thus disputes have risen, upon what is understood, and what is not understood: but the controversies among the ancient philosophers were always peaceable; whereas those of our divines are often bloody, and always turbulent.

The Cordeliers, who did not understand these dark points better than Michael Baius, imagined that free-will was thereby destroyed, and the whole doctrine of Scot endangered. Being likewise exasperated against Baius, on account of another dispute almost of the same nature, they accused him of seventy-six heretical articles before pope Pius V. It was Sixtus Quintus, then general of the Cordeliers, who drew up the bull of condemnation in 1567; and this I believe was the first

wherein opinions, without being particularly specified, were condemned.

Thus either from a fear of being affronted, from a disgust of examining such subtilties, or from an indifference or contempt of the thesis, at Louvain they condemned the seventy-six propositions in general, as being either absolutely heretical, or approaching towards heresy. The divines of Louvain hesitated a little in receiving the bull. There was in it one sentence, in which the position of a comma in one of two places, either condemned or tolerated some opinions of Michael Baius. The university sent deputies to Rome, to know of his holiness where the comma must be placed. The court of Rome, which was then busied in other affairs, sent as an answer a copy of the bull, in which there was no comma. This bull was deposited amongst their records. Morillon, the grand vicar, said the pope's bull ought to be received, *even though it should be erroneous*. Morillon was in the right, in regard to policy; for certainly it was better to receive a hundred erroneous bulls, than to reduce a hundred towns to ashes, as happened in the quarrel betwixt the Huguenots and their adversaries. Baius submitted to Morillon, and recanted peaceably.

Some years after, Spain, no less fertile in scholastic authors than barren in good writers, produced Molina, a Jesuit, who imagined he had perfectly discovered how God acts upon his creatures, and how they resist his influence. He distinguished natural and supernatural orders; predestination to grace, and predestination to glory;

preventive and co-operating grace. He was the inventor of that supposed concurrence betwixt intermediate science and congruism, two very uncommon ideas. By the former, God carefully and skilfully consults the human will, to discover what man will do when endowed with grace; and then according to the use he foresees a free agent is to make thereof, he forms his decrees to determine human agents; and these dispositions make what is called congruism.

The Spanish Dominicans, who understood this explication as little as the Jesuits, and were extremely jealous of them, affirmed in their writings that Molina's book was the "forerunner of Antichrist."

The court of Rome took this dispute into deliberation, which had already been before the grand inquisition, who very prudently enjoined silence to the two parties; but neither of them obeyed the decree.

They at last disputed the affair warmly before Clement VIII.; and to the reproach of human understanding, all Rome became a party in the cause. One Achilles Gaillard, a Jesuit, assured the pope that he had certain means to restore peace to the church; and with an air of gravity he proposed to accept of free predestination, on condition that the Dominicans admitted the intermediate science and that they should reconcile these two systems in the best manner they could. The Dominicans however, would not agree to this proposal of Achilles Gaillard. Their famous *Lemos* maintained the preventive concurrence, and an accomplishment thereof by active virtue. The congregation

were increased by these disputes, but nobody understood them.

Clement VIII. died before he could bring the arguments on each side to a clear and determined sense. Paul V. resumed the dispute: but as he happened to have a more important affair with the republic of Venice, he dissolved all the congregations which they then did, and still do, call *de Auxiliis*. They gave them this name, of itself as unintelligible as the points in dispute, because the word signifies assistance, and the controversy turned upon the assistance which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V. finished the affair, by ordering the two parties to live in peace.

Whilst the Jesuits established their mediate science and congruism, Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, brought up again some notions of Baius, in a large volume on St. Augustine, which was not published till after his death; so that he became head of a sect, without ever dreaming of such an event. Very few read the book, which has caused so much disturbance. But du Verger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyran, a friend of Jansenius, a man of as warm a temper, as he is a prolix and obscure writer, came to Paris, and gained to his party several young doctors, and some old women. The Jesuits demanded at Rome the condemnation of Jansenius's book, as containing nothing but the heretical doctrine of Baius, and obtained it in 1641. But the faculty of divines at Paris, and all those who argued on the subject, were divided. It was, methinks, gaining nothing, to think with Jansenius, that God commands impossibilities; this is neither philosophical nor consolatory. But

the secret pleasure of being in a party, hatred against the Jesuits, the desire of making a figure and restlessness of mind, formed a sect.

The faculty condemned five propositions of Jansenius, by a majority of votes : these five propositions were extracted out of the book very faithfully, as to the sense, but not as to the expressions. Sixty doctors appealed to parliament, and complained of an abuse. The *Chambre des Vocations* summoned the two parties to appear ; but they did not make their appearance. On one side a doctor named Habert, inveighed against the doctrine of Jansenius with great warmth. On the other side, the famous Arnauld, a disciple of St. Cyran, defended Jansenism with the most nervous eloquence. He hated the Jesuits more than he loved efficacious grace, and was still more hated by them, as the son of a man, who having been bred up to the bar, had pleaded warmly for the university against their establishment. His ancestors had acquired great reputation by the sword, as well as the gown. His genius and particular situation determined him to become a controversial writer, and to make himself head of a party ; a kind of ambition, before which all others disappear. He carried on the controversy against the Jesuits and the Protestants to his eightieth year. He published no less than a hundred and four volumes, of which there is hardly one that can be ranked amongst those classical books, which do honour to the age of Lewis XIV. and are deposited in the libraries of different nations. All his works were in high vogue in his own time, from the reputation of the au-

author, and that eagerness for disputes then so prevalent. People however grew more cool by degrees, and these books are now intirely forgotten. Of all his writings, none are now regarded but those upon reasoning; such as his treatise upon geometry, his rational grammar, and his logic, all which subjects he very much studied. No man had ever, perhaps, a greater turn for philosophical enquiries; but his philosophy was vitiated by that party spirit which hurried him away, and which, for sixty years, involved a genius, formed to enlighten mankind, in scholastic disputes, and all those evils so strongly connected with obstinacy of opinion.

The university was divided about these five famous propositions, as were likewise the bishops. Eighty-eight of the French bishops wrote in a body to Innocent X. intreating him to decide the affair; and eleven others wrote to his holiness, to beg he would leave it undetermined. Innocent X. took it into consideration; he condemned each of the five propositions separately, but without quoting the pages from whence they were extracted, or what went before or followed.

This omission, which would not have been done in any civil affair at the lowest court of judicature, was committed by the faculty of Sorbonne, by the Jansenists as well as Jesuits, and by his holiness. The sense of the propositions which were condemned, is plainly in Jansenius. If we only open the third volume, page 138. of the Paris edition 1641. we shall find these words: "Tout cela demontre pleinement & evidemment, qu'il n'est rien de plus certain & de plus fundamental dans la do-

" doctrine de Saint Augustin, qu'il y a certains com-
 " mandemens impossibles, non seulement aux in-
 " fideles, aux aveugles, aux endurcis; mais au-
 " fideles & aux justes, malgre leurs volontes
 " leur efforts, selon les forces qu'ils ont; & qu'
 " la grace, qui peut rendre ces commandemens
 " possibles, leur manque." " All this demonstrat-
 " fully and evidently, that there is nothing more
 " certain and more fundamental in the doctrine
 " St. Augustine, than that there are some com-
 " mandments impossible, not only to the unbelie-
 " ing, the blind, and hardened part of mankind
 " but also to the faithful and righteous, notwith-
 " standing their will and efforts, according to the
 " strength they possess; and that grace, which
 " able to render such commandments practicable,
 " fails them." We may likewise read in page 16
 " Que Jesus Christ n'est pas, selon Saint Augustin,
 " mort pour tous le hommes: " That Jesus Christ
 " according to St. Augustin, did not die for
 " men."

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the assembly of
 clergy unanimously to receive the pope's bull.
 had then a very good understanding with his ho-
 nours: he did not love the Jansenists, and he w-
 reason hated all controversies.

The church of France seemed now to be
 stored to peace: but the Jansenists wrote so ma-
 letters, so often quoted St. Augustin, and gain-
 such a number of female proselytes, that after
 bull was received there were more Jansenists than
 ever.

A priest of St. Sulpice refused absolution
 Monsieur de Liancourt, because it was repro-

that he did not believe the five propositions were in Janſenius, and that he entertained heretics in his houſe. This was a new ſcandal, and furniſhed freſh matter for diſpute. Doctor Arnauld diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an epiſtle addreſſed to a real or fictitious duke and peer; he maintained that the propoſitions which had been condemned, were not to be found in Janſenius, but that they were in St. Auguſtin and ſeveral other fathers. He added, “ that St. Peter was a righteous man, in whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was wanting.”

It is true, that St. Auguſtin and St. John Chryſoſtom had ſaid the ſame thing; but a word too much or one too little, and the circumſtances of the time which make an alteration in every thing, made Arnauld guilty. It was ſaid to be neceſſary to mix ſome water with the wine of the good fathers; for what is to one party a matter of ſerious concern, is to another the ſubject of mirth and pleaſantry. The faculty was aſſembled, and chancellor Seguier took his place there, as the king's representative. Arnauld was condemned and expelled the college of Sorbonne in 1654. The preſence of the chancellor, amongſt the divines, carried ſuch an air of deſpotic power, that it greatly diſpleaſed the public; and the care taken to fill the hall with monkish mendicant doctors, who had never before appeared there in ſuch numbers, made Paſcal ſay in his provincials, *qu'il etoit plus aisé de trouver des moines que des raiſons*. “ That it was much eaſier to find monks than arguments.”

Moſt of theſe monks did not admit of congruism, intermediate ſcience, nor the neceſſitating grace

of Molina: but they maintained a sufficient grace to which the will may consent, though it never does; an efficacious grace which a man may, but never does resist; and this they pretended to explain clearly, by saying that this grace might be resisted in the divided but not in the compound sense.

These sublime theories are not perhaps altogether consonant to human reason; and the notions of Arnauld and the Jansenists seem too much to agree with pure Calvinism; for the controversy betwixt the Gomarists and Arminians was just the same. Holland was divided by it, as France was by Jansenism. The affair however, in Holland, became rather a political faction than a dispute of mere theorists; and pensionary Barnewelt suffered on a scaffold upon this account. In France it produced only edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet and pamphlets; for they were then engaged in disputes of much greater consequence.

Arnauld was then only excluded from the faculty. This slight persecution procured him a number of friends; but he and the Jansenists had always the church and the pope against them. One of the first things done by Alexander VII. successor of Innocent X. was to renew the censures on the five propositions. The bishops of France, who had already drawn up a formulary now framed one anew, which concluded with these expressions: "I condemn with my heart and mouth the doctrine of the five propositions, contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, which is not the doctrine of St. Augustin, for Jansenius has perverted the meaning." This formul

was now subscribed as an article of faith; and the bishops sent it to all suspected persons in their dioceses. They wanted likewise to have it signed by all the nuns belonging to Port-royal of Paris, and Port-royal des Champs: these two houses were the sanctuary of Jansenism, for St. Cyren and Arnauld were the governors of them.

There was another religious house established near the monastery of Port-royal des Champs; hither many learned and pious persons had retired, strongly prejudiced to their own opinions, and linked together by a conformity of sentiments. There they educated some chosen youth, and here it was that Racine, the most correct and eloquent poet, received his education. Pascal, the first of satirists, for Despreaux must be considered only the second, lived in great intimacy with these illustrious and dangerous recluses. The above formulary being presented to the nuns of Port-royal de Paris and Port-royal des Champs, in order to be signed, they made answer, That they could not, in conscience, avow, with the pope and bishops, that the five propositions were in Jansenius's book, which they had never read; that certainly his meaning had been mistaken; and though the five propositions might be erroneous, yet that Jansenius might not be mistaken.

Such obstinacy exasperated the court. Mr. d'Aubrai, the lieutenant-civil (for there was not yet a lieutenant de police) went to Port-royal des Champs, to root out the religious who had retired thither, and all their pupils likewise. They threatened also to suppress the two monasteries: but they were saved by a miracle.

Mademoiselle Pèrier, who belonged to the nunnery of Port-royal de Paris, niece to the famous Pascal, had a disorder in one of her eyes. At her monastery they happened to be performing the ceremony of kissing a thorn of the crown which had been formerly put upon the head of our Saviour: this thorn had long been deposited at Port-royal; but it is no easy matter to prove how it had been preserved and conveyed from Jerusalem to the suburb of St. James. Among the rest of the nuns, Pascal's niece kissed the thorn; she happened to recover of her disorder some time after, and upon this affirmed she had been instantly cured of a most dangerous fistula lachrymalis. This young woman did not die till the year 1728, and several persons who were acquainted with her, have assured me, that it was a considerable time before her cure was effected, which is extremely probable; but it is far from being so, that the divine being who does not work miracles to convert three fourths of the world, to whom our religion is either unknown or abhorred, should break through the course of nature, in favour of an insignificant girl, and for the sake of a dozen female enthusiasts, who pretended that Cornelius Jansenius did not write some lines which were imputed to him, or that he had written them with a meaning different from what was generally conceived.

The miracle, however, made so great a noise that the Jesuits durst not deny it; the only course they could now follow, was to work miracles on their side; but they were not regarded: for only those of the Jansenists were then in fashion. Some

years after they wrought another miracle: one of the sisters at Port-royal, named Gertrude, was cured of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy, however, had not the desired success: the time was elapsed; and sister Gertrude had not a Pascal for her uncle.

The Jesuits, though they had the popes and kings on their side, yet they were decried by the people, who brought up afresh against them all the ancient stories of the assassination of Henry the great, contrived by Barriere, and executed by Châtel, one of their disciples; the punishment of father Guignard, and their banishment from France and Venice; in short, nothing was omitted that seemed likely to make them appear in the most odious colours. Pascal went farther, and made them the subject of ridicule. His provincial letters, published at that time, may be considered as a model of eloquence and humour. The best comedies of Moliere have not more wit than the first part of these letters; and the sublimity of the latter part of them is equal to any thing in Bossuet.

It is true indeed that the whole book was built upon a false foundation; for the extravagant notions of a few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits were artfully ascribed to the whole society. Many absurdities might have likewise been discovered amongst the Dominican and Franciscan casuists; but this would not have answered the purpose, for the whole railery was levelled only at the Jesuits. These letters were designed to prove that the Jesuits had formed a design to corrupt mankind, a design which no sect nor society ever had, nor can have. But

to be in the right was not the point, the only thing intended was to divert the public.

The Jesuits, who had then no good writer in their party, could not turn off the ridicule thrown upon them by one of the best written books ever published in France. But in these disputes almost the same thing happened to them as did formerly to cardinal Mazarin. The Blots, Marignis, and Barbancons had made all France laugh at the cardinal's expence, though he was master of the kingdom.

The principal nuns were removed from the abbey of Port-royal de Paris by 200 guards, and dispersed into other convents: those only were allowed to remain, who were willing to sign the formulary. All Paris became interested in this affair. Sister Perdreu and sister Passart, who subscribed this formulary, and got others to follow their example, were made the subject of ridicule and humorous songs, with which the town was filled by a kind of indolent persons, who see nothing but the ridiculous side of things, and who always make themselves merry, whilst sincere believers are afflicted, adversaries declaim, and the government takes such measures as seem proper.

The Jansenists gained strength by persecution. Four prelates, Arnauld bishop of Angers brother to the doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais, Pavillon of Aler, and Caulet of Pamiers, the same who afterwards opposed Lewis XIV. in the affair of the *regale*, declared themselves against the formulary. There was a new one composed by pope Alexander VII. alike in sense to the former, received in France by the bishops, and even by the parliament.

His holiness, being moved with indignation, named nine French bishops, to commence a process against the four who had been refractory. Then it was, that the spirit of the two parties rose to a higher degree of animosity than ever.

But when the dispute was carried on with the utmost warmth, in order to know whether the five propositions were really in Jansenius or not; Rospiigliosi, who became pope under the name of Clement IX. restored peace for some time. He prevailed on the bishops to sign the formula *sincerely*, instead of *purely* and *simply*. Thus it seemed allowed to believe, that though the five propositions were condemned, they might not be extracted from Jansenius. The four bishops gave likewise some small explication thereupon: the Italian complaisance by this means allayed the French vivacity. A word substituted in place of another, brought about this peace, which is called *the peace of Clement IX.* and even *peace of the church*; though the whole animosity had only been about a dispute either unknown or despised by the other parts of Christendom. Ever since the time of Baius, the popes had always endeavoured to suppress these unintelligible controversies, and to bring the two parties to preach up morality, which every one understands: nothing seemed more agreeable to reason; but who can account for the behaviour of weak mortals?

The government set at liberty the Jansenists who had been confined in the Bastile, and amongst the rest Saci, author of a version of the testament. They likewise recalled from exile several religious females, who signed the formula *sincerely*, and be-

lieved they gained the victory by this expression. Arnauld now came forth from his retreat, where he had been concealed, and was presented to the king, kindly received by the pope's nuncio, and by the public, esteemed a father of the church. From that time he resolved to enter the lists only against the Calvinists, for such was his temper, that he must necessarily carry on war against some party or other. In this time of tranquillity he published his book, intitled, *La perpetuite de la foi*, in which he was assisted by Nicole, and this gave rise to that grand controversy betwixt them and Claud the minister, a controversy in which each party, according to custom, believed itself victorious.

The peace of Clement IX. having been given to such restless turbulent spirits, proved but a short truce. Secret cabals, and little intrigues, were still carried on, and gross affronts were given on both sides.

The duchess of Longueville, sister to the great Conde, so well known in the civil wars and so noted for her amours, being now old, and without any employment, became a votary to religion; and as she hated the court, and loved intrigue, she turned Jansenist. She built a wing to the Port-royal de Champs, whither she retired sometimes with the religious. Then was their most flourishing time. Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maitre Herman, Sacy, and several other persons, who though less famous, had considerable merit and reputation, assembled at her house. Instead of that sprightly wit, displayed by the duchess de Longueville in the palace of Rambouillet, they substituted more solid conversation, supported with that strong

nervous, and animated sense, which so remarkably distinguished their writings and discourses. They contributed not a little to diffuse true taste and eloquence in France; but unfortunately they were more zealous to spread their opinions. They themselves seemed to be a proof of the doctrine of fatality, with which they were reproached. One would have said that they were constrained by an irresistible determination to draw upon themselves persecution for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired considerable reputation, and enjoyed a happy tranquillity, by renouncing these frivolous disputes.

The faction of Jesuits, being daily provoked by the provincial letters, practised every art they could devise against the opposite party. Madam de Longueville, being no longer able to form any cabal in favour of the anti-courtiers, used all her efforts for Jansenism, and accordingly there were frequent meetings of that sect in Paris; sometimes at her house, and often at Arnauld's. The king, who had already resolved to extirpate Calvinism, did not choose to see a new sect arise. He threatened the party; and at last Arnauld dreading enemies armed with sovereign authority, and being deprived of the support of Madam Longueville, who was dead, resolved to quit France for ever; and go to live in the Netherlands, unknown, without fortune, and even without domestics. His nephew had been minister of state, and he himself might have been a cardinal; but the pleasure of writing with freedom, seemed to him preferable to every other thing. He lived to the year 1694, in a retreat obscure to the world, and known only

to his friends, always writing, always supporting the character of a philosopher, superior to his adverse fortune, and, to his last moments, giving an illustrious example of purity, resolution, and unshaken constancy.

His party was always persecuted in the catholic Netherlands, called the country of *obediënce*, where the pope's bulls are sovereign laws; and they were still more harassed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the question, "whether the five propositions were really in Jansenius?" was always the only pretence for these little civil broils. The distinction of *de facto* and *de jure* was now introduced: in 1701 they proposed a theological question which was called *le cas de conscience par excellence*, "Whether the sacrament could be given to a man, who, though he signed the formula, believed in his heart, that the pope, and even the church, might be mistaken in facts?" Forty doctors attested with their hands that absolution might be given to such a person.

Upon this the controversy was renewed. The pope and bishops insisted they should be believed with regard to facts. The archbishop of Paris Noailles, determined that we should believe the divine faith *de jure*, and human faith *de facto*. Some others; and amongst these Fenelon, the archbishop of Cambray, who was not pleased with Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better perhaps to have turned to the book itself, and cited the passages, but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI. in 1705. published a bull

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called *vineam Domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of divine or human faith.

It was a new custom introduced into the church to make women sign these bulls. This respect was again paid to the nuns of Port-royal de Champs; and cardinal Noailles was obliged to cause carry to them to try them. They signed it without retracting any thing from the peace of Clement IX. and confining themselves to a respectful silence in regard to the case *de facto*.

We hardly know which to consider as most extraordinary; whether the confession insisted on from the nuns, that the five propositions were contained in a Latin book, or their obstinate refusal.

The king solicited a bull from the pope for the suppression of their monastery. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments, and their advocate was confined in the Bastile. All the nuns were removed, and each of them put into separate convents that were less refractory. The lieutenant de police in 1709, ordered their house to be demolished, and in 1711 all the bodies in the church-yard, and within the church were removed from thence, and interred elsewhere. The troubles, however, did not end with this monastery. The Jansenists were still for preserving the spirit of cabal, and the Jesuits desired still to appear necessary.

Father Quenel, a priest of the oratory, an intimate friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and who accompanied him in his retreat to his last moments, in 1671, had composed a book of pious reflections on the text of the new testament.

This book contained some maxims which appear-

ed favourable to Jansenism; but these were joined with such a multitude of pious sentiments, and so abounded in that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that the work was received with universal approbation. The beauties of this book appeared every where evident, and the faults were difficult to be found. Several bishops bestowed high encomiums on the piece, when imperfect, which they repeated and confirmed when the author had finished it. I know for certain, that the abbe Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome the first year of Clement XI's. pontificate went one day to wait upon this pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, and found him reading father Queneſ's book. "This" is (said his holiness) an excellent performance: we have no one at Rome capable of writing in this manner; I wish I could have the author near me. Yet this very pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, look upon these encomiums of Clement XI. and the condemnation which followed afterwards, as a contradiction. At one may at the first reading be struck with the beauties of a work, and yet afterwards condemn the faults, which before escaped notice. The prelate of France, who shewed the strongest and most sincere approbation of this book, was cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris. He declared himself the patron of it when bishop of Chalons, and the book was dedicated to him. The cardinal was no less eminent for his learning, than the many virtues he possessed: he was a person of the sweetest and most peaceable disposition; he protected several of the Jansenists, though not of their persuasion; and

though he had no great affection for the Jesuits, yet he was neither prejudicial to them nor feared them.

The power of the Jesuits became formidable, when father de la Chaize, having the conscience of Lewis XIV. at his disposal, was in effect the head of the Gallican church. Father Quenel, dreading their power, had retired to Brussels with the learned benedictin Gerberon, a priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party. After the death of Arnauld, he became the head of the Jansenists, and like him enjoyed the pleasing glory of establishing himself in a sovereignty independent of princes, of reigning over consciences, and being the soul of a party composed of the brightest geniuses. The Jesuits, being more powerful and prevalent, soon disturbed Quenel in his solitude. They persecuted him with Philip V. who was sovereign of the Low Countries, as they had before done Arnauld his master with Lewis XIV. They obtained an order from the king of Spain to seize these religious exiles. Quenel was accordingly put in prison in the archbishopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who believed he should greatly raise himself by means of the Jansenists, if he delivered their chief, broke through the walls, by which means Quenel, having made his escape, fled to Amsterdam, where he died in 1719. in an extreme old age, after having settled some Jansenist churches in Holland; however, the sect was weak, and dwindled daily.

When Quenel was seized, they also secured all his papers in which were found all the distinguished signs of a formed party. There was a

copy of an ancient contract made by the Jansenist with Antonetta Bourignon, the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great wealth, who, in the name of her confessor, had purchased the isle of Nordstrand, near Holstein, as a place of residence for those whom she designed to associate into a new mystical sect, which she intended to establish.

This Bourignon had printed at her own expence nineteen large volumes of pious reveries, and had expended half of her fortune to make proselytes. However, she succeeded in nothing but rendering herself ridiculous, and had even suffered persecution which is the consequence of every innovation. At last, despairing to make any settlement in her isle she sold it again to the Jansenists; but they were also unable to form any establishment there.

Amongst the manuscripts of Quenel, there was discovered a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been extravagantly foolish. Lewis XIV. in 1684. having sent the count d'Avaux into Holland, to grant a truce of twenty years to all the powers willing to accept of it, the Jansenists, under the name of *the disciples of St. Augustine*, had intended to get themselves included in this treaty as if they were a party as considerable as the Calvinists had been so long. This chimerical scheme however, was not carried into execution; though at last the propositions of a peace betwixt the Jansenists and the king of France had been drawn up in writing. By this project, they had certainly design to make themselves too considerable: this was sufficient to render them culpable; and Lewis XIV. was easily persuaded that they were a dangerous party,

Had his majesty been properly instructed, he would have known that empty, speculative notions will vanish of themselves, when left to take their natural course; and to treat them as matters of state was paying them a respect they did not deserve. It was no difficult matter to make father Quenel's book appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a seditious person. The Jesuits prevailed on the king himself to petition for the condemnation of this book at Rome. This was in fact procuring the condemnation of cardinal Noailles, who had been the most zealous defender of that work. They flattered themselves, and not without reason, that pope Clement XI. would embrace this opportunity to mortify the archbishop of Paris. Here it may not be unnecessary to take notice, that when Clement XI. was only cardinal Albani, he published a book entirely on the Molinist principles, written by his friend cardinal de Sfrondate, and that Mr. de Noailles had censured it as heretical. It was therefore natural to think, that Albani, being now pope, would make reprisals, by passing sentence of condemnation on Quenel's production, upon which Noailles had lavished so many encomiums.

Nor were they deceived in their expectations; for Clement XI. in 1708. published a decree against Quenel's performance: but the situation of temporal affairs, at that time, prevented this spiritual affair which had been solicited from having the expected success. The court was piqued at Clement XI. who had acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain, after having acknowledged Philip V. The validity of the decree was objected against, and it

was rejected in France. These controversies lay dormant till the death of father de la Chaize, the king's confessor, a man of a sweet temper, who always endeavoured to promote peace and harmony and who always preserved a good understanding betwixt cardinal de Noailles, and his relation madam de Maintenon.

The Jesuits had a right to appoint the king's confessor, as well as almost all the other Catholic princes in Europe. This privilege belongs to the order, from the nature of their institution, by which they renounce all ecclesiastical dignities: thus what their founder established through humility, is become the means of grandeur. The more Lewis XIV. advanced in age, the more important was the office of confessor. The person promoted to this honour was father le Tellier, son to an attorney of Vire in the Lower Normandy, a gloomy, fiery, vehement and inflexible mortal, who had many private injuries to revenge. The Jansenists had got one of his books on the Chinese ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewise a personal quarrel with cardinal de Noailles: he knew not how to manage any affair with moderation, and soon raised disturbances in the whole church of France. In 1711 he drew up letters and mandates, to be signed by the bishops. These secret practices, however, were soon discovered, but the success of them not prevented.

The king's conscience was as much alarmed by his confessor, as his authority seemed to be shaken by a rebellious faction. Cardinal Noailles vainly demanded of his majesty justice for these *injuries of impiety*. The confessor, perceiving that he

that he made use of human means to bring about things of a divine nature; and as indeed he defended the papal authority, and the unity of the church, the whole affair had a favourable appearance. The cardinal applied likewise to the Dauphin duke of Burgundy, but found him prepossessed by the letters and friends of the archbishop of Cambray. The best of men are subject to human frailties. Fenelon was not yet philosopher enough to forget that cardinal Noailles had contributed to have him censured; and Quenel suffered then for madam Guion.

The cardinal did not succeed better from the interest of madam de Maintenon. This affair alone may be sufficient to display the true character of that lady, who had but few sentiments of her own, and made it her sole study to conform to those of the king. A few lines of hers to cardinal Noailles, will enable us to form a judgment of her, and of the intrigue of father le Tellier, and will serve likewise to shew us the king's sentiments on this occasion, and give us a just idea of the present affair.

You are sufficiently acquainted with me (said she in her letter) to know my private opinion on the late discovery; but I have many reasons to restrain me from speaking. It is not my business to judge or to condemn: I must be silent, and pray for the church, for the king and you. I have delivered your letter to his majesty, and it has been read: this is all I can say to you about it, being oppressed with sorrow."

The cardinal archbishop, being thus injuriously treated by a Jesuit, took away the power of preaching and confessing from all the Jesuits in France,

excepting only a few of the most moderate and discreet. By his place he had likewise a right though a dangerous one, to hinder le Tellier from confessing the king: but he durst not venture to irritate his sovereign to such a degree, and he left him respectfully in the hands of his enemy. "I am afraid" (said he in a letter to madam Maintenon) "that I shew too abject a submission to the king" "by leaving him in the power of one so unworthy such a trust. I pray God may open his eyes" "that he may see the danger he is in, by intrusting his soul to a man of such a character.

It is mentioned in several histories, that father Tellier said, that he must either lose his place, or the cardinal his. It is not unlikely that he thought so; but it is highly improbable that he should thus express himself. When two parties are heated with animosity, both often take dangerous steps.

The partisans of father le Tellier, and the bishops who aspired at a cardinalship, endeavoured all to make use of the royal authority to blow up the sparks of sedition, which might have been so easily extinguished. Instead of imitating Rome, which has several times imposed silence on the two parties instead of restraining the seditious Jesuit, and properly advising the cardinal; instead of prohibiting these controversies in the same manner as done and thereby making the clergy useful as well as nobility, without being dangerous: in short, instead of bearing down the two parties by the weight of sovereign authority, supported by reason and by the magistrates, Lewis XIV. took a quite different course; he himself solicited Rome for an open declaration of war, and procured the famous con-

tution which filled the remainder of his life with trouble and affliction.

Father le Tellier and his party sent to Rome an hundred and three propositions to be condemned, of which the holy office found an hundred and one heretical. This bull, which was given in the month of September 1713. raised a flame throughout the whole kingdom. The king had demanded it in order to prevent a schism, which on the contrary it seemed likely to produce. A general clamour prevailed; because among these hundred and one propositions, there were several which appeared to every body to carry the most innocent meaning. There was a numerous assembly of bishops held at Paris on this occasion: forty accepted the bull, for the sake of peace; but at the same time they qualified it with certain explications, to quiet the scruples of the public. The direct and unreserved acceptance was sent to the pope, and the interpretations thereupon were reserved for the people. By this means they thought to satisfy at once the pope, the king, and the people. But cardinal de Noailles, and seven other bishops of the assembly, refused both the bull and the explications: they wrote to the pope, and requested to have these favourable explanations from his holiness himself. This was offering him an affront with an appearance of respect. The king, however, prevented it, for he would not suffer the letter to be sent; and he ordered the bishops to their dioceses, and forbade Noailles to appear at court. This persecution of the archbishop increased his reputation with the public. The seven other bishops again joined him. There was now a real division

in the hierarchy, amongst all the clergy, as well as the religious orders. Every body allowed, that the dispute was not about the fundamentals of religion; yet a civil dissention was raised in peoples minds and carried on with as much heat as if Christianity itself had been in danger; and as many springs of policy were put in motion on both sides, as in the most profane of civil affairs.

Every art was used to get the constitution received by the college of Sorbonne. A majority of votes were against it, yet it was registered there. The ministry could not, without difficulty, procure the letters de cachet which were necessary to confine or banish those who opposed it.

This bull had likewise been registered in parliament, always, however, reserving the ordinary rights of the crown, and the privileges of the Gallican church, with the power and jurisdiction of the bishops; but the voice of the public always disclaimed any obedience to it. Cardinal Bissi, one of the most strenuous defenders of the bull, declared in one of his letters, that it could not have met with greater indignity at Geneva, than it had received at Paris.

The public animosity was greatest against Father Tellier. Nothing is more apt to raise our indignation, than to see a religious person assume so much of civil power; it seems a violation of his vows; but if he abuses this power, he is utterly detested. Le Tellier presumed so much on his influence, that he even proposed the deposing of Cardinal de Noailles, in a national council. Thus he made his king, his penitent, and his religion, serve to gratify his resentment; and yet I have stro

reasons to believe, that he was an honest, well-meaning man; so much are men apt to be blinded with zeal and prejudice for their opinions.

In order to prepare this council, which was to depose a man become the idol of Paris and of the whole kingdom, by the purity of his morals, his amiable character, and more still by his persecution; they prevailed on Lewis XIV. to order a declaration to be registered in parliament, by which every bishop, who had not received the bull *purely and simply*, should be obliged to subscribe it, and that every one who refused to do so, should be prosecuted as a rebel by the advocate-general. Chancellor Voisin, secretary at war, a rigid and arbitrary man, had drawn up this edict. D'Aguesseau, the advocate-general, much better versed in the laws of the realm than Voisin, and having that courage which youth naturally inspires, peremptorily refused to undertake this affair. The president of the council remonstrated to the king likewise, and pointed out the consequences of such a proceeding. The affair was thus protracted. The king was at this time extremely ill, and these unhappy disputes greatly troubled him, and hastened his end. His merciless confessor still continued to harass him in his languid condition, by repeated exhortations to consummate a work, which would not have endeared his memory. The king's domestics twice refused him access to his chamber, and at last earnestly conjured him not to speak to his majesty about the constitution. Soon after, the king died, and the whole face of affairs was changed.

The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, having at once changed the whole form of Lewis

XIV's government, and having settled councils in the offices of the secretaries of state, erected likewise a council of conscience, and made cardinal de Noailles the president. They banished father le Tellier, hated by the public, and even not beloved by his own fraternity.

The bishops, who opposed the bull, appealed to a future council which was never held. The Sorbonne, the clergy of the diocese of Paris, and whole bodies of the religious orders, appealed likewise, and at last cardinal Noailles made his appeal in 1717.; but he did not at first intend to publish it; however, it was printed contrary to his inclination. The church of France remained divided into two parties, the *Acceptants*, and *Recusants*: the former consisted of an hundred bishops, who had united themselves, under Lewis XIV. with the Jesuits and Capuchins: the latter was composed of fifteen bishops, and the whole nation in general. The *Acceptants* prevailed at Rome; the *Recusants* had the universities, the parliament and the people on their side. Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter was printed, and each party reproached the other as schismatics and heretics.

An archbishop of Rheims, named Mailli, a great and successful partizan of Rome, had subscribed his name to two papers which the parliament ordered to be burned by the hangman. The archbishop, having been informed of this, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, to thank God for having been thus injuriously treated by schismatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a cardinal. The bishop of Soissons, having undergone the same treatment from the parliament, signified to this assembly, "that it did not

"belong to them to judge even in cases of high treason." He was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand livres. The regent, however, remitted the mulct, lest, said he, Soissons should be made a cardinal also.

The court of Rome vented itself in reproaches; much time was spent in negotiations; they appealed and re-appealed, and all this upon a few passages, now forgot, of a book written by a priest in his 80th year, who lived on charity at Amsterdam.

The extravagant project concerning the funds, contributed, more than was imagined, to restore peace to the church. The whole nation engaged with so much eagerness in the public stocks; and the avarice of mankind, attracted by the prospect of immense gain, became so prevalent, that those who still continued to talk about Jansenism or the bull, could find no-body to give the least attention. They were as little regarded, as the war which was carried on in the frontiers of Spain. The immense fortunes so suddenly made at that juncture, and luxury and voluptuousness carried to the highest excess, made all the ecclesiastical disputes cease: thus pleasure did what Lewis XIV. could not effect.

The duke of Orleans seized this occasion to reunite the church of France. In this his policy was interested; for he dreaded the having against him Rome, Spain, and an hundred bishops.

He was to prevail on cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the constitution, which he looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he esteemed lawful. He must obtain more of him than his benefactor Lewis XIV. had in vain demanded. The duke of Orleans had reason to ex-

pect great opposition from the parliament, which he had banished to Pontoise. Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, he gained his point. *A body of doctrine* was composed, which partly satisfied both parties; and a promise was procured from the cardinal that he would at last accept it. The duke of Orleans went himself to the grand council, with the princes of the blood and nobles, to get an edict registered, which enjoined the acceptance of the bull, suppression of all appeals, peace and unanimity. The parliament, which had been mortified by edicts being carried to the grand council, which it belonged to them to receive, and being also threatened to be removed from Pontoise to Blois, registered what had passed in the council; but always with the customary reservations, that is, the preservation of the privileges of the Gallican church, and the laws of the realm.

The cardinal archbishop, who had promised to retract when the parliament should obey, was now necessitated to keep his promise. The instrument of his recantation was published the 20th of August 1720.

Dubois, the new archbishop of Cambray, son to an apothecary of Brive la Gaillard, afterwards a cardinal and prime minister, had the greatest hand in this affair, in which the power of Lewis had failed. The sentiments, morals, and behaviour of this minister are well known. The dissolute Dubois overcame the pious Noailles.

It is still remembered, with what contempt the duke of Orleans and his minister spoke of the disputes which they appeased, and what ridicule they threw upon this controversial quarrel.

This contempt and ridicule contributed not a little to the restoring of peace. People grew at last tired of such contests, as afforded the world a subject of laughter.

From this time, all that was known in France by the name of Jansenism, Quietism, as well as all the controversies about theological points and bulls, gradually declined. Some bishops, who had appealed, remained obstinately attached to their opinions.

Under the ministry of cardinal Fleury, they wanted to extirpate the remains of the party, by deposing one of the most stubborn prelates. They fixed for an example, on old *Soanen*, bishop of the little town of Senes, a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemned by the little provincial council of Embrun in 1728, suspended from his office of bishop and priest, and banished by the court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This rigour occasioned some fruitless complaints. There is not at present any nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets sooner than the French.

Some remains of fanaticism still subsisted amongst a small number of the people in Paris. Certain enthusiasts imagined, that a deacon named *Paris*, brother of a counsellor in parliament, one who had appealed and re-appealed, who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles. Some of the party, who went to pray upon his tomb, had their imagination so worked upon, that their disordered organs produced slight convulsions. Upon this, crowds of people flocked to the tomb both day and night. Those who a-

scended the tomb, shook their bodies in such a manner that they themselves believed it a miracle. The secret sticklers for the party encouraged this frenzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar language, and now nothing was talked of but the deaf hearing some words, the blind seeing, and the lame having walked upright for some moments. The government left this epidemical distemper for a month to itself; but the concourse of people growing greater and greater, and the miracles increasing, they were at last obliged to shut up the church-yard, and place guards there; these enthusiasts then went to work their miracles in houses. This tomb of the deacon of Paris was in effect that of Jansenism, in the opinion of all sensible persons. These farces would have had serious consequences in more ignorant times, but those who encouraged them seemed ignorant of the age in which they lived.

The superstition, however, was carried so far, that a counsellor of parliament had the madness to present the king with a collection of these miracles, attested by a considerable number of evidences. If all other books were lost, and this only was to remain, posterity would imagine that our age was the most ignorant and barbarous of all others.

These extravagancies were, in France, the expiring sighs of a sect, which being no longer supported by an Arnauld, a Pascal, nor a Nicole, and having nothing but convulsionaries, fell into utter contempt.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF. QUIETISM.

AMIDST the factions of Calvinism, and the controversies of the Jansenists, there happened another division in France upon Quietism: an unhappy consequence of the progress of the human genius in the age of Lewis XIV. that it excited efforts to go beyond the limits of our knowledge; or rather perhaps, it was a proof that farther advances were to be made.

The controversy about Quietism is one of those extravagances of imagination and theological subtilties, the memory of which would have been utterly obliterated among mankind, had it not been for the names of two illustrious rival disputants. A woman of no credit, nor understanding, who had only an overheated imagination, set by the ears two of the greatest men in the church. This woman was Bouvieres de la Motte. Her family was originally of Montargis. She had been married to the son of the undertaker of the canal of Briare; but being left a widow in the bloom of youth, with great wealth, beauty, and a temper formed for the commerce of the world, she became possessed with what is called *spirituality*. A Barnabite of the country of Geneva, one La Combe, was her director. This man, noted for what is common enough, a medly of passions and religion, and who died distracted, fill-

ed the brain of his penitent with mystical reveries, which she had before begun to imbibe. The strong desire of being a S. Theresia in France, prevented her from seeing the vast difference betwixt the genius of the French and Spaniards, and made her even proceed farther than Theresia. The ambition of gaining disciples, the strongest perhaps of any species of ambition, intirely took possession of her heart.

She and her confessor went into that small territory where the titular bishop of Geneva resides. She gained considerable authority there by her extensive charity, and held several meetings. She preached up an intire self-renunciation, the tranquillity of the soul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worship, and pure disinterested love, such as is neither moved by fear, nor animated by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, especially those of women, and some young ecclesiastics, who rather loved than believed such doctrines from the mouth of a fine woman, were easily touched with an eloquence of words, the only thing necessary to persuade minds favourably disposed. She made proselytes, but was driven away by the bishop, together with her confessor. They went thence to Grenoble, where she published a little piece intituled, *Le moien court*, *The short way*, and another under the name of *Torrens*, both penned in the same stile she preached: but she was likewise obliged to retire from Grenoble.

Pleased already with the thoughts of being ranked amongst the number of holy confessors, she had a vision, and prophesied. She sent her prophecy

to father La Combe. "All hell, said she, shall unite to stop the progress of the inward spirit, and the formation of Jesus Christ in souls. The storm shall be such, that not one stone shall remain upon another; and I foresee that throughout the whole earth, there will be troubles, wars, and revolutions. The woman shall be pregnant with the inward spirit, and the dragon shall stand up before her."

The prediction was verified; for upon her return with father La Combe, her confessor, to Paris, where both endeavoured to spread their tenets in 1687, De Chanvallon, archbishop of Harlai, obtained an order from the king to confine La Combe as a seducer, and to shut up in a convent Madam Guion as a person of a disordered mind, whom it was necessary to cure. But madam Guion, before this, had gained such interest, as now proved of service to her. In the palace of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy, she had a cousin named madam de la Moison-Fort, a favourite of madam Maintenon. She had likewise gained the good graces of the duchesses of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers. All these friends complained loudly, that the archbishop of Harlai, noted for having too great love for women, should persecute one for preaching up the love of God.

By the powerful interest of madam Maintenon the archbishop of Paris was silenced, and madam Guion restored to liberty. She then went to Versailles, and was admitted into St. Cyr, where, after having dined with madam Maintenon and another person, she made one at the religious meetings

held by the abbot of Fenelon. The princes of Harcourt, with the duchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers and Charot, belonged also to this mystical society.

The abbot Fenelon, then preceptor to the children of France, was the most engaging man belonging to the court. He had naturally a tender heart, with a sweet and lively imagination, and his mind had been cultivated with letters. He was a man of taste, had many amiable qualities, and preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity, to what was gloomy and abstruse. Besides, he had a certain romantic turn of mind, which inspired him, not with the reveries of madam Guion, but with such ideas of spirituality, as were not very unlike those of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue; as others are inflamed by their passions. He loved God purely for himself. He saw, in madam Guion, a soul fraught with the same notions as his own, and therefore without any hesitation united with her. It was strange that he should be thus led away by a woman who pretended to revelations, to prophecies, and other jargon; who stifled inward grace, as necessary to be given up; who divested, as she said, herself of all superabundance of grace, in order the more to encrease the body of the elect who were gathered about her. But Fenelon, in his friendship and mystical notions, was as a person in love: he excused the errors, and became attached to that conformity of sentiments with which he had been taken.

Madam Guion, elevated and emboldened by the

acquisition of such a disciple, whom she called her son, and reckoning likewise upon madam Maintenon, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese St. Cyr is, was alarmed and complained loudly. The archbishop of Paris threatened again to renew his former proceeding.

Madam Maintenon intending St. Cyr for a peaceable abode, knowing likewise how much the king was an enemy to all novelty, having no occasion to put herself at the head of a sect to gain influence, and in short having her own credit and repose only in view, she broke off all commerce with madam Guion, and discharged her from St. Cyr.

The abbot de Fenelon saw the storm gathering, and was afraid of being disappointed of the great employments which he aspired at. He therefore advised his female friend to put herself in the hands of the famous Bossuet bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a father of the church. She accordingly submitted herself to the decisions of this prelate, and after having received the sacrament from him, she gave up all her writings to his examination.

The bishop of Meaux, by the king's permission, named, as assistants in this affair, the bishop of Chalons, afterwards cardinal de Noailles, and the abbot Tronson superior of St. Sulpice. They had a private meeting at the village of Issi, near Paris. Chanvallon archbishop of Paris, piqued that any other persons should set themselves up as judges in his diocese, immediately passed a public censure on the books they examined. Madam Guion retired to the city of Meaux itself, she subscribed to all

Bossuet demanded, and promised to dogmatise no more.

Mean while Fenelon was promoted to the archbishopric of Cambray in 1695, and consecrated by the bishop of Meaux. One would have imagined, that the late affair, being now dormant, and having been only the subject of ridicule, would never be revived. But madam Guion being accused of continuing to utter her doctrines after she had promised silence, was seized by order of the king in the same year 1695, and confined in prison at Vincennes, as if she had been a person dangerous to the state. She could not possibly be so; and her pious frenzies did not merit the sovereign's attention. At Vincennes she composed a large volume of mystic poetry, more wretched even than her prose. She wrote parodies upon verses out of operas, and often repeated the following lines:

*L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense
On ne sait pas, lorsqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit couter un jour.
Mon cœur n'aurait connu Vincennes ni souffrance
S'il n'eut connu le pur amour.*

The opinions of mankind depend chiefly upon time, place, and circumstances. While madam Guion was kept in prison, who, in one of her frenzies, had supposed herself married to Jesus Christ, and from that time never invoked the saints, saying that the mistress of the family ought not to address herself to her domestics; at this time, I say, they canonized Marie d'Agreda at Rome, who had had more visions and revelations than all the mystics to

gether; and as a further instance of those contradictions in which the world so much abounds, at the Sorbonne they prosecuted as a heretic this very d'Agreda, whom they desired to make a saint in Spain.

Bossuet, who had for a considerable time looked upon himself as the father and master of Fenelon, became jealous of the credit and reputation of his disciple; and wanting always to preserve that ascendant he had over all his brethren, demanded of the new archbishop of Cambray, that he should join with him in condemning madam Guion, and subscribe his pastoral instructions. Fenelon, however, would not sacrifice to him neither his friend nor his sentiments. Concessions were proposed, and mutual promises made. Each accused the other of breach of faith. The archbishop of Cambray, when he departed for his diocese, printed at Paris, his *Maxims of the saints*; a work in which he endeavoured to obviate all that was objected against his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatists, who raise themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection to which ordinary souls seldom aspire. The bishop of Meaux and his adherents exclaimed loudly against this book. They complained of it to the king, as if it had been as dangerous as it was unintelligible. His majesty spoke of it to Bossuet, whom he greatly esteemed for his reputation and understanding. This prelate, throwing himself at the feet of his prince, asked pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal heresy of the archbishop of Cambray. The king and madam Maintenon immediately consulted father de la Chaise upon this

affair. The Confessor answered, that the archbishop's book was an excellent piece, which had greatly edified all the Jesuits, and that the Jansenists only disapproved of it. The bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he had read their best writings, and from thence had imbibed some of their principles. He had no affection for the Jesuits, nor they for him.

The court and city were divided; and all the attention of the public being turned upon this affair, the Jansenists had a little respite.

Bossuet wrote against Fenelon, and both sent their works to pope Innocent XII. submitting themselves to his decision. The circumstances did not appear favourable to Fenelon; for but a little before they had absolutely condemned at Rome, in the person of Molinos the Spaniard, the Quietism of which the archbishop of Cambray was now accused. Cardinal d'Etrees, the French ambassador at Rome, was the person who had prosecuted Molinos. This cardinal, whom we have seen in his old age more engaged in the pleasures of society than in theology, had proceeded against Molinos merely to please the enemies of that unfortunate priest. He had even engaged the king to solicit his condemnation at Rome, which was easily obtained: so that Lewis XIV. found himself, without knowing it, the most formidable enemy of the pure love of the mystics.

In such subtle speculative points, nothing is more easy than to point out passages in a book under consideration, resembling those in one already condemned. Fenelon had on his side the Jesuits, and cardinal de Buillon, lately ambassador from France to

Rome. The bishop of Meaux had his own great name, and the chief prelates of France as his adherents. He carried to the king the signs manual of many of the bishops, and a great number of the doctors, who all expressed their disapprobation of the *Maxims of the saints*.

Such was the authority of the bishop of Meaux, that father de la Chaise durst not vindicate the archbishop of Cambray to the king his penitent, and madam Maintenon intirely abandoned her friend. The king wrote to pope Innocent XII. that having had the archbishop's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the nuncio's hands, and earnestly solicited his holiness to give judgment upon it.

It was insinuated, nay, even publicly affirmed at Rome, and there are some who still credit the report, that the archbishop of Cambray was thus persecuted, for no other reason but because he opposed the declaration of the secret marriage betwixt the king and madam Maintenon. The inventors of anecdotes pretended, that this lady had engaged father de la Chaise to press the king to acknowledge her for his queen; that the Jesuit had artfully contrived to make this dangerous commission fall upon the abbot de Fenelon; but that this preceptor of the young princes, preferring the honour of his country, and his royal pupils to his private interest, had thrown himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. to prevent such an extraordinary marriage, which would have injured his memory more with posterity than any transitory gratifications in life could recompense.

This tale is still to be found in the history of

Lewis XIV. printed at Avignon. Those who have had access to that monarch and madam Maintenon know the great absurdity of this story. But it is true that Fenelon having continued his education at the duke of Burgundy after his promotion to the archbishopric of Cambray; and the king, during this interval, having heard some confused talk about Fenelon's connection with madam Guion, and madam de la Maison-Fort; apprehended that Fenelon might infuse into his pupil maxims too rigid, and such principles of government and morals, as would perhaps one day become an indirect censure upon that air of grandeur, that ambition for glory, those wars undertaken on the most frivolous occasions, and that taste for luxury and pleasures, which had characterized his reign.

The king was desirous to have some conversation with the new archbishop upon his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, discovered to the king some part of the principles, which he afterwards published in those passages of *Telemachus* where he treats upon government; principles which might rather be applied to the imaginary republic of Plato, than to the manner in which mankind must be governed. The king, after his discourse with him, said, that he had been conversing with the finest, and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was informed of these expressions of the king, and the duke afterwards told them to Mr. de Malezieux, his master in geometry. I was told this by Mr. de Malezieux, and the truth of it was afterwards confirmed to me by cardinal Fleury.

It is certain, that after this conversation, the king

readily believed, that Fenelon was no less romantic in his religious than political notions.

The holy office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant, and an Augustin to take cognisance of the affair. These are what they call at Rome the consultors. The cardinals and prelates generally leave to these monks the study of theology, whilst they give themselves up to politics, intrigues, or the charms of an indolent life.

The consultors, in thirty seven conferences, examined as many propositions, and judged them erroneous by a majority of voices. The pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a bull published and fixed up in Rome the 13th of March 1699.

The bishop of Meaux triumphed; but the archbishop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory, by his defeat. He submitted himself voluntarily, and without restriction or reserve. He even mounted the pulpit at Cambray, to condemn his own book, and would not allow any of his friends to defend it. This singular example of condescension in a man of learning, who might have gained a considerable party even by his prosecution, and his candour and ingenuity, gained him universal love, and made every one almost hate his victorious antagonist. He afterwards always lived in his diocese like a good archbishop, and a man of letters. That lenity and sweetness of temper which displayed itself in his conversation as well as writings, made all who had the pleasure of knowing him his affectionate friends. The persecution he met with, and his Telemachus, gained him veneration through all Europe. The En-

glish, in particular, though they carried their arms into his diocese, were the most eager to shew him their respect: the duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands should be spared. He had always the affections of his pupil the duke of Burgundy; and had this prince lived, he would have had a share in the administration.

In his philosophical and honourable retirement we have a proof of the difficulty which a man has to disengage himself from court. He always expressed himself upon this head in such a manner, that his inclination and concern could be perceived through his outward appearance of resignation. In his retreat, he wrote several pieces upon philosophy, theology, and polite literature. The duke of Orleans afterwards regent of the kingdom, used to consult him upon certain difficult points, which concern all mankind, and yet are seldom thought of by any. He asked him, whether the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated; if this deity required worship; what worship he most approved of; and whether a mistaken choice was offensive to the Divine Being? He started many other questions of the like nature, as a philosopher who enquired for instruction; and the archbishop answered him like an able philosopher and divine.

After his being worsted in the scholastic disputes it would have been better had he not intermeddled in the disputes of Jansenism; nevertheless he engaged in them. Cardinal Noailles had formerly taken the strongest side against him; and now the archbishop took the same course against Noailles. He always flattered himself that he should be called to court, and consulted; so difficult it is for

the human mind to disengage itself from those affairs in which it has been accustomed to be employed. His desires, nevertheless, were moderate as his writings; and when on the decline of life, he at last despised all disputes, resembling in this one particular Huet bishop d'Avranches, one of the most learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almost all science, and the human understanding itself. The archbishop of Cambray (who would imagine it!) thus turned an air of Lulli:

*Jeune, j'étais trop sage,
Et voulais trop savoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier age,
Sans rien prévoir.*

When young, I to wisdom aspir'd,
And thought myself wondrous wise;
But in age, find that all I've acquir'd
Is to know, man in ignorance dies.

He composed these verses in the presence of his nephew the marquis de Fenelon, afterwards ambassador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact. This circumstance would of itself be of little importance, did it not afford us a strong proof, that in the grave tranquillity of old age, we often view in a different light, what appeared to us so great and interesting in our youthful days, when the active mind is hurried away by its desires, and delusions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

DISPUTES upon the CHINESE CEREMONIES.

IT was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds, that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute, however, did not produce any great disturbance; but it served more than any other to characterize that restless, wrangling, and contentious spirit, which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci the Jesuit, towards the end of the seventeenth century, had been one of the first missionaries to China. The Chinese were then and are still almost the same in philosophy and literature, that we were about two hundred years ago. Their respect for their ancient masters prescribes them certain bounds, which they dare not pass. A progress in the sciences is the work of time and boldness of genius. But morals and policy, being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection amongst them before other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued more than 2000 years within the same boundaries they had at first attained, have also remained but indifferently proficient in the sciences; but they are the first

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After Ricci, many other Jesuits went into this extensive empire; and, by means of the European sciences, they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity amongst the children of that people, whom they took all proper opportunities to instruct. Some Dominicans, who were concerned in the mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, whilst they preached up Christianity. This was a delicate point, as was likewise the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire are founded upon the most natural and at the same time the most sacred right, the respect due from children to their parents. To this respect also they join that which they think due to their first teachers in morality, and especially to Con-fu-tze, whom we call Confucius, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them virtue 500 years before Christianity was founded.

Every family has particular days, on which they assemble to honour their ancestors; and the learned meet publicly to honour Con-fu-tze. On these occasions they prostrate themselves, according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and frankincense. The colaos, whom the Spaniards call mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Con-fu-tze is honoured, and afterwards feast on them. Are these ceremonies to be accounted idolatry, or esteemed only as civil institutions? Do they hereby ac-

knowledge their parents and Con-fu-tze for deities, or are they even invoked as our saints? Is this, in short, a mere political custom, which some of the Chinese abuse by a superstitious extravagance? This was a point which could not be easily determined in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans brought the affair before the inquisition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their representation, declared against the Chinese ceremonies, till the pope should give a decision.

The Jesuits defended the Chinese and their ceremonies, which they said must be allowed, otherwise the Christian religion could never gain admittance in an empire so jealous of its customs. They gave strong reasons for their opinion on this subject. In 1656, the inquisition permitted that the learned might continue to revere Con-fu-tze, and the Chinese children to honour their ancestors; but protested at the same time against all superstitious adoration, if there was any.

The affair being yet undetermined, and the missionaries always divided, a final decision was from time to time solicited at Rome. Mean while the Jesuits at Pekin so far gained the favour of the emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, so much celebrated for his virtue and benevolence, accepted of them as missionaries, and allowed them publicly to teach Christianity. It may not be unnecessary to observe, that this despotic monarch, grandson to the conqueror of China, was however subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone suffer Christianity, and was obliged to solicit a

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tribunal for that purpose; and that he himself drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1692. Christianity was permitted in China, by the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a seminary established for foreign missions, and some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries which they call the regions of infidelity, chose a priest named Maigrot, out of this seminary, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fokien. This Frenchman being now a bishop in China, not only declared the rites performed for the dead superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned Chinese, atheists. Thus the Jesuits had now to struggle against their brother missionaries, more than against the mandarines and people. They represented at Rome, that it was highly inconsistent that the Chinese should at once be atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men, that they admitted only matter; and yet how could this be maintained, when they invoked the souls of their ancestors, and that of Con-fu-tze. One of these reproaches evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is often done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners, in order to unravel this difficulty. The affair remained a considerable time before the court of Rome: and the Jesuits were in the mean time attacked on all sides.

Father le Comte, one of their most learned missionaries, had written in his history of China, "That this people had amongst them, for 2000 years, a knowledge of the true God; that they had sacrificed to their Creator in the most ancient temple of the world; and that China had practised the purest lessons of morality, when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

It is not impossible, but that father le Comte might be in the right; for in effect, if this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and a succession of thirty-six great and attested eclipses, even to the time where we place the deluge; it is not improbable, that they may have had the knowledge of one supreme being longer than any other nation: nevertheless, as there was somewhat in these assertions contrary to the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne. The abbot de Boileau, brother to Despreaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, in 1700. declared this encomium on the Chinese to be a downright blasphemy. The abbot de Boileau was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote humourously upon the most serious matters. He published a book, entitled, *Flagellantes*, and some other pieces of that kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, to avoid being censured by the bishops. His brother Despreaux said of him, "That if he had not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy." He declaimed most violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying, "That the encomiums on that people had shook his Christian brain." Others in the assembly seemed likewise to have their brains equal

ly disordered. They had some debates upon the subject. A reverend doctor named Le Sage, was of opinion, that twelve of his brethren, of the strongest constitution, should be sent to the empire of China to instruct themselves in every particular. The affair was debated upon with great warmth; but at last, the college of Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese, false, scandalous, rash, impious and heretical.

This dispute, being carried on with great acrimony, inflamed that about the ceremonies: and pope Clement XI. the year after, sent a legate to China on this occasion. The person fixed upon was Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time ignorant, that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Camhi at first received the patriarch de Tournon with great civility; but it may be easily conceived what was his surprize, when the legate's interpreters informed him, that the Christians, who preached up their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute, which the court of Pekin had never before heard of. The legate gave him to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and that they suspected even his Chinese majesty, and all the literati, of being atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain every particular fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him a hearing. The monarch was still more

surprized, when he was informed of having bishops in his empire; and the reader must be no less so, when he finds this prince so indulgent as even to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, against the customs of his kingdom, and against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience: he knew very little of the Chinese language. The emperor at first desired him to explain four characters drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could only read two; but he maintained that the words *King-tien*, which the emperor himself had written in his pocket-book, did not signify *adore the Lord of Heaven*. The emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the precise meaning of these words. He condescended, moreover, to enter into a long argument: in which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The bishop, however, remained inflexible; and it may be well believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than he. The emperor, who by the laws could have punished him with death, contented himself with only banishing him. He decreed likewise, that all the Europeans, willing to remain in his empire, should after this be obliged to have his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for the legate de Tournon, he was ordered to quit the capital. As soon as he came to Nankin, he published a mandate, which entirely condemned all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbade the using that expression which the emperor used, to signify *the God of Heaven*.

The legate upon this was confined in Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty,

though they allow the Portuguese to have a governor there. Whilst the legate was in his confinement there, the pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a cardinal. He ended his days in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge: they might have contented themselves, however, with imputing banishment to them.

Such divisions, amongst strangers who came to instruct the empire, greatly discredited the religion they professed. It was still more contemned, when the court, who began to study the Europeans with attention, discovered that not only the missionaries were divided, but that likewise amongst the traders who came to Canton, there were many sects sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Camhi did not shew any coldness to the Jesuits, but shewed a great deal to Christianity. His successor banished all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was partly the effects of those disputes, and that presumptuous boldness, with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and the magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honoured their ancestors. These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others arising from a busy sort of idleness, are utterly forgotten. And people are now surprized, that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, promises to secure the public tranquillity.

CHILDREN of LOUIS XIV.

HE married Maria Theresa of Austria, born in 1638, the only daughter of Philip IV. by his first marriage with Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second marriage with Maria Anne, of Austria. The nuptials of Lewis XIV. were celebrated the 9th of June 1660, and Maria Theresa died in 1683.

He had by her,

LEWIS Dauphin, *Monseigneur*, who died at Meudon the 14th of April, 1711. Who had by Maria-Anne-Christiana-Victoria of Bavaria, who died the 20th of April 1690,

1. Lewis, Duke of Burgundy, who died the 18th of February 1712, and had by Maria-Ade-
laida of Savoy, who died in the 12th of February 1712, N. Duke of Bretagne, who died in 1705.
Lewis, Duke de Bretagne, who died in 1712.
and Lewis XV. born the 15th of February 1710.

2. Philip, Duke of Anjou, and King of Spain, who died the 9th of July 1746.

3. Charles, Duke of Berry, who died the 4th of May 1714.

Lewis XIV. had also two sons and three daughters, who died young.

Legitimated and natural Children.

By the Dutcheſs de la Valliere, who entered into the order of Carmelites the 2d of June 1674, made her profeſſion the 4th of June 1675, and died the 6th of June 1710, aged 65 years, Louis XIV had

Lewis of Bourbon, Count de Vermandois, who died in 1683.

Maria-Anne, called *Mademoiſelle de Blois*, and married to Lewis-Armand, Prince of Conti; She died in 1739.

Other legitimated and natural Children.

LEWIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon, Duke of Main, who died in 1736.

Lewis-Caeſar, Count de Vexin, Abbot of St. Dennis and St. Germain des Pris, who died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, Count de Toulouse, who died in 1737.

Louiſa-Frances of Bourbon, called *Mademoiſelle de Nantes*, married to Lewis III. Duke of Bourbon-Conde. She died in 1743.

Louiſa-Maria of Bourbon, called *Mademoiſelle de Tours*, who died 1681.

Frances-Maria of Bourbon, called *Mademoiſelle de Blois*, married to Philip II. Duke of Orleans, and regent of France. She died in 1749.

Two other ſons who died young.

*Cotemporary Sovereigns.**P O P E S.*

Urban VIII. died in 1644

It was this Pope who conferred the title
of Eminence on Cardinals,

Innocent X. 1655

Alexander VII. 1667

Clement IX. 1667

Clement X. 1676

Innocent XI. 1689

Alexander VIII. 1691

Innocent XII. 1700

Clement XI. 1721

The Ottoman House.

Ibrahim, died in 1655

Mahomet IV. 1687

Soliman III. 1691

Achmet II. 1695

Mustapha II. 1703

Achmet III. deposed, 1730

Emperors of Germany.

Ferdinand III. died in 1657

Leopold I. 1705

Joseph I. 1711

Charles VI. 1740

Kings of Spain.

Philip	IV.	died in	1665
Charles	II.		1700
Philip	V.		1746

Kings of Portugal.

John IV. Duke of Braganza,	died in	1656
Alphonso-Henry, dethroned in	1667.	1683
Peter	II.	1706
John	V.	1750

Kings of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Charles	I.	died in	1649
Charles	II.		1685
James	II. dethroned in	1688.	1701
William	III.		1702
Anne Stuart,			1714
George	I.		1727

Kings of Denmark.

Christian	IV.	died in	1648
Frederick	III.		1670
Christian	V.		1699
Frederick	IV.		1670

Kings of Sweden.

Christina, abdicated in	1654,	died in	1689
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Charles-Gustavus,	died in	1660
Charles XI.		1697
Charles XII.		1718

Kings of Poland.

Ladislas Sigismund,	died in	1648
John Casimer,	abd.	1667
Michel Wiefnowiski	died in	1673
John Sobieski,		1696
Frederick-Augustus, Elector of Saxony,		1733
Stanislaus,		

Kings of Prussia.

Frederick I.	died in	1713
Frederick William,		1740

Czars.

Michael-Faederowitz,	died in	1645
Alexis-Michaelowitz,		1676
Faedor-Alexiowitz,		1682
{ Iwan-Alexiowitz,		1688
{ Peter-Alexiowitz,		1725

Marshals of France.

Nicholas de l' Hopital, Duke de Vitry,	died in	1644
Hon. d'Albert de Chaulnes,		1649
Gasp. de Coligni, called marshal de Chatillon,		
grand-son to the Admiral,		1649
James Nompar de Caumont de la Force,		1659
Francis de Bassompierre,		1649

Francis-Annibal d'Etrees,	died in 1670
Th. d'Epinaï de Saint-Luc,	1644
Urbain de Maille de Brezee,	1650
Charles de Schomberg d'Halluin,	1656
Charles la Porte de la Meilleraie,	1664
Anthony de Grammont,	1678
John Bapt. Budes de Guebriant,	1643
Ph. de la Motte Houdancourt,	1657
Fr. de l'Hopital de Ronay,	1660
Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount de Turenne,	1675
John de Gassion,	1647
Caesar de Choiseul du Plessis-Pralin,	1675
Josias de Rantzau,	1650
Nic. Neuville de Villeroy, Gov. of Lewis XIV.	1685
Anthony d'Aumont,	1669
James d'Estampes,	1668
Charles de Monchi d'Hoquincourt,	1658
Henry de Seneterre de la Ferte,	1681
James Rouxel de Grancei,	1680
Arm. Nomparr de Caumont de la Force,	1675
Lewis Faucault,	1659
Cesar Phaebus d'Albert,	1676
Ph. de Clerambault,	1665
James Castlenau,	1658
John de Schulemberg de Montdejeu,	1671
Abrah. de Faber,	1662
Fr. de Crequi,	1687
Bernardin de Gigault de Bellafons,	1694
Lewis de Crevant d'Humieres,	1694
Godfrey d'Estrades,	1686
Ph. de Montault Benac de Navailles,	1684

Frederick de Schomberg,	died in 1690
James Henry de Durfort de Duras,	1704
Lewis-Victor de Rochechouart, called Duke de Vivonne,	1688
Francis d'Aubusson de la Feuillade,	1691
Francis-Henry de Montmorency Luxem- bourg,	1695
H. Lewis d'Alongni de Rochefort,	1676
Gui Aldonce de Durfort de Lorges,	1702
John d'Etrees,	1707
Claudius de Choiseul,	1711
Fr. de Neuville de Villeroy, Gov. of Lewis XV.	1730
J. Armand de Joyeuse,	1710
L. Fr. de Boufflers,	1711
Ann Hillarion de Constantin de Tourville,	1701
Ann Julius de Noailles,	1708
Nicholas de Catinat,	1712
Lewis Hector de Villars,	1734
Noel Bouton de Chamili,	1715
Victor Mari de Etrees,	1737
Fr. Lewis Rousselet de Chateau-Renaud,	1716
Seb. le Pretre de Vauban,	1707
Conrade de Rosen,	1715
Nic. du Ble d'Uxelles,	1730
Rene Froullai de Tesse,	1725
Nic. Aug. de la Baume de Mont-Revel,	1716
Camillus d'Hossteen de Tallard,	1728
Henry d'Harcourt,	1718
Fred. de Marfin,	1706
James de Fitz James de Barwick,	1734
Ch. Aug. Gorgon de Matignon,	1729
James Bafin de Bezons,	1733
Peter de Montesquiou,	1725

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*Great Admirals of France under the reign of
Lewis XIV.*

Armand de Maille Marquis de Breze, grand-master, chief and superintendant-general of the navigation and commerce of France in 1643, was killed at sea by a canon shot the 14th of June 1646.

Anne of Austria, Queen Regent, superintendant of the seas of France in 1646, which she resigned in 1650.

Cæsar, Duke of Vendome and Beaufort, grand-master, and superintendant-general of the navigation and commerce of France in 1650.

Francis de Vendome, Duke of Beaufort, the son of Cæsar, killed in the engagement of Candy, the 25th of June 1679.

Lewis of Bourbon, Count de Vermandois, made legitimate of the royal blood of France, admiral in the month of August 1669, aged two years. He died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, legitimated of France, Count de Toulouse, admiral in 1683, died in 1737.

*Generals of the Gallies of France, under the reign
of Lewis XIV.*

Armand John du Pleffis, Duke de Richelieu, peer of France in 1643, in the life time of Francis his father. He resigned this post in 1661.

Francis Marquis de Crequi succeeded him, and

resigned in 1669, a year after he had been nominated a marshal of France.

Lewis Victor de Rochechouart, Count, and afterwards Duke de Vivonne, Prince of Tonnal-Charente in 1669.

Lewis de Rochechouart, Duke de Mortemar during his father's life. He died the third of April 1688.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, legitimated of France, Prince de Dombes, Duke du Maine and d'Aumale, in 1688, and resigned in 1694.

Lewis Joseph, Duke de Vendome in 1694. He died in 1712.

Rene Sire de Froullai, Count de Tefse, Marshal of France in 1712, resigned in 1716.

The Chevalier de Orleans, in 1716. He died in 1748, after whose death this dignity was reunited to the admiralty.

Chancellors.

Charles de l'Aubepine de Chateauneuf, Keeper of the seals, he died in 1653.

Peter Seguir, 1672.

Mathew Mola, G. D. S. 1656.

Stephen d'Aligre, 1677.

Michael le Tellier, 1685.

Lewis Boncherat, 1699.

Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain. He exercised this employ till 1714, died in 1727.

Daniel Francis Voisin, 1717.

Ministers.

Julius Mazarin, Cardinal, Prime Minister died in 1661.

Superintendants of the Finances.

Cl. Bouthillier,	died in 1651
Abel Servien,	1659
Cl. de Mésmes, Count d'Avaux,	1650
Nicholas Bailleul,	1652
Charles de la Vieuville,	1653
Emery, (his name was Michael Perticelli)	
Rene de Longueil de Maisons,	1677
Nicholas Fouquet, ‡	1680

Secretaries of State.

Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de Brienne,	died in 1666
Cl. Bourthillier, superintendant,	1651
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere,	1681
Abel Servien, superintendant,	1659
Leon Bouthillier de Chavigni,	1632
Fr. Sublet der Noyers, superintendant of the buildings,	1645
H. de Guenegaud de Planci,	1676
Michel de Tellier, chancellor,	1685
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, resigned in	1699
Hugh de Lionne,	1671
Henry-Lewis de Lomenie de Brienne,	1683
John Bapt. Colbert Comptroller-general,	1683
John Bapt. Colbert de Seignelai,	1690
Fr. Michel de Tellier de Louvois,	1691
Ch. Colbert de Croissi,	1696
Sim. Arnauld de Pomponne,	1699
Balt. Phelipeaux de Chateauneuf,	1700
Lewis Fr. Marie de Tellier de Barbesieux,	1701

‡ When N. Fouquet was seized, the post of superintendant of the finances was suppressed.

Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, chan-
 cellor, died in 1727
 Dan. Fr. Voisin, chancellor, 1717
 Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, 1725
 Michel Chamillard, Comptroller-general of the
 finances, 1721
 Jerome Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, resigned
 in 1725, 1747
 J. Bapt. Colbert de Torci, 1746

*Writers: severals of whom have been ornaments to
 the age.*

Abadie (James) was born in Bearn, in 1558. He was celebrated for his *Treatise upon the Christian Religion*; but he afterwards discredited that work by his *opening of the seven seals*. He died in Ireland in 1727.

Abadie or l'Abadie (John) was born in Guienne 1610. He was by turns a Jesuit, a Janfenist, and a Protestant, and at last was desirous to form a sect of his own, and unite with Bourignon. But Bourignon rejected his overture, saying, that every one had his particular share of the holy spirit, and that her's was greatly superior to Abadie's. We have thirty one volumes of fanaticism written by him. He is placed here only as an instance of the great weakness of the human understanding. He was not without his disciples. He died at Altena in 1674.

Ablancourt (Nicholas Perrot d') of an antient family of the parliament of Paris, was born at Vitri in 1606. He was an elegant translator, each of whose performances of this kind was called a *beautiful infidel*. He died poor in 1664.

Acheri (Luc. d') a Benedictine, was a great compiler; he was born in 1609, and died in 1685.

Alexander (Noel) a Dominican, was born at Rouen in 1639. He has composed many theological pieces, and has had great disputes concerning the customs of China, against the Jesuits who returned from thence. He died in 1724.

Amelot de la Houssaie (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1634. His translation with political notes, and his histories, are very much valued; but his memoirs, in the alphabetical order, are very faulty. He died in 1706.

Amelot (Dionysius) was born in Saintonge in 1606. He belonged to the oratory; and is principally known by a very good translation of the new testament. He died in 1678.

Amontons (William.) He was born at Paris in 1663, and was an excellent musician. He died in 1699.

Ancillon (David) was born at Metz in 1617. He was a Calvinist, and, together with his son Charles, who died at Berlin in 1715. gained some literary reputation.

Anselm, an Augustin Monk. He was the first who compiled a genealogical history of the great officers of the crown, which has been continued and augmented by *du Fourni*, auditor of accounts. Our notions concerning what constitutes these great officers are very confused. Some suppose they are those who by their office bear the title of grand, as the grand master of the horse, the grand cup-bearer. But the Constable, the Marshals, and the Chancellor, are also great officers, and yet do not bear the title of great, and there are others who do bear this

title, and nevertheless are not ranked in the number of great officers. The captain of the guards, the first gentleman of the chamber, are in fact become great officers, though they are not reckoned by father Anselm. We have nothing certain on this subject, and indeed, there is as great confusion and uncertainty in regard to all rights and titles in France, as there is order in the administration. He died in 1694.

Arnauld (Anthony) a doctor of the Sorbonne, born in 1612. and the twentieth son of that Arnauld who pleaded against the Jesuits. Nothing is more universally known than his eloquence, his learning, and his disputes, which rendered him so celebrated and at the same time so unfortunate, according to our ordinary ideas, which annex misfortune to exile and poverty; without considering that glory, many friends, and an healthy old age were the portion of this celebrated man. He died in 1694.

Arnauld d'Andilly (Robert) the eldest brother of the preceding, was born in 1588. He was one of the great writers of Port Royal. His translation of *Josephus*, which is the most esteemed of all his works, he presented to Lewis XIV. at the age of 85 years. He was father of *Simon Arnauld*, marquis de Pomponne, and minister of state. But this minister was unable to prevent either the disputes or the disgrace of his uncle the doctor of the Sorbonne. He died in 1674.

Aubignac (Francis d') was born in 1604. He never had any other master but himself. He was attached to cardinal Richelieu, and was an enemy to Corneille. His *Pratique des Theatres* is still com-

mended; but he proved, by his tragedy of *Zenobie*, that genius is not acquired by knowledge. He died in 1676.

Aubri (Anthony) was born in 1616. We have the lives of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin written by him, which are but indifferent pieces. He died in 1695.

The Countess d'Aunoi. Her memoirs and travels into Spain, together with some romances written in an easy manner, have gained her some reputation. She died in 1705.

Baillet (Adrian) was born near Beauvais in 1649. He was a celebrated critic. He died in 1706.

Baluze (Stephen) of Auvergne, was born in 1631. He formed the collection of manuscripts in Colbert's library. He applied to his studies to the age of eighty eight years. We are indebted to him for seven volumes of ancient monuments. He was banished for defending the pretensions of the cardinal de Bouillon, who pretended to be independant of the King. He died in 1718.

Balzac (John Lewis) was born in 1594. He was considerable for his eloquence, and was the first who founded the prize of eloquence. He had the patent of historiographer of France and counsellor of state, which he called splendid titles. He died in 1654.

Barbayrac (John) was born at Beziers in 1674. He was a Calvinist, was professor of law and history at Lausanne, and was the translator and commentator of Puffendorf and Grotius. These treatises upon the laws of nations, and upon peace and war, which have never been serviceable in any treaty of peace, nor in any declaration of war, nor to

secure the right of any person, seem to be a consolation to the people, for the evils which have been done by force and policy. They give us such an idea of justice, as we receive of celebrated persons whom we cannot see, from viewing their portraits. He died in 1729.

Barbier Daucourt (John) was known among the Jesuits by the name of the *Advocate Sacrus*, and in the world by his *Criticism upon the dialogues of father Bouhours*, and by his excellent pleading for an innocent person who was put to the rack. He was long protected by Colbert, who made him comptroller of the king's buildings; but having lost his protector, he died in misery in 1694.

Barbier (Mademoiselle) was the author of some tragedies.

Basnage (James) was born at Rouen in 1653. He was a Calvinist and a pastor at the Hague; but he was fitter to be a minister of state than of a parish. Of all his books, his history of the Jews, of the united provinces, and of the church, are the most esteemed.

Books upon temporary subjects are forgotten with the affair which produced them; but works of general utility are more durable. He died in 1723.

Basnage de Beauval (Henry) of Roue, was a minister in Holland, but he was a philosophical minister, and wrote upon *Toleration in Religion*. He was a man of great industry: He published an edition of Furetiere's Dictionary with additions. He died in 1710.

Baudran (Michael) was born in Paris in 1633.

He was a Geographer, but not in such esteem as Sanfon. He died in 1700.

Bayle (Peter) was born at Carlat in the county of Foix in 1647. He retired into Holland rather as a Philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted in his lifetime by Jurieux, and after his death by the enemies of philosophy. If he could have foreseen how universally his dictionary would be read, he would have made it more useful, by retrenching the obscure, and by increasing the number of illustrious names. He lived and died like a wise man. De Maifeaux has written his life, of which he has made a large volume, though it should have been comprized in less than six pages; for the life of a sedentary writer is in his works. He died in 1706.

Beaumont de Perfix (Hardouin) was the preceptor of Lewis XIV. and archbishop of Paris. His *history of Henry the Fourth*, which is only an abridgement, inspires us with a love for that great prince, and is proper to form a good king. He composed it for the use of his pupil. Mezerai was said to have had a hand in it. There is indeed a good deal of Mezerai's manner in it; but Mezerai was not master of that lively style, in many places so worthy of the prince whose life Perfix wrote, and of him to whom he addressed it: These excellent counsels for governing alone were not inserted till the second edition, after the death of cardinal Mazarin. Henry the fourth is better known from a perusal of this history than from Daniel, who has written his life but in a dry manner, in which he has said too much about Pere Coton, and too little concerning the great qualities of Henry the

fourth, and the particulars of the life of this excellent king. Prefixed affects every sensible heart, and excites adoration of the memory of this prince, whose weaknesses were only those of an amiable man, and whose virtues were those of a great one. He died in 1670.

Benferade (Isaac de) was born in Normandy in 1612. He filled his little house at Gentilly, to which he retired towards the end of his life, with inscriptions in verse, which were of more worth than his other works. It is pity they were never collected together. He died in 1691.

Bergier (Nicholas) had the title of historiographer of France, but he is more known by his curious *History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire*, which are now surpassed by ours in beauty though not in solidity. His son put the finishing hand to this useful work, and printed it under the reign of Lewis XIV. He died in 1623.

Bernard (Mistress) has written some dramatic pieces, in conjunction with the celebrated Bernard de Fontenelle.

Bernard (James) of Dauphiny, was born in 1658. He was a man of learning, and his Journals have been esteemed. He died in Holland in 1718.

Bernier (Frances) surnamed the *Mogul*, was born at Angers about the year 1625. He was eight years Physician to the emperor of the Indies. His voyages are curious. He died in 1688.

Bignon (Jeremiah) was born in 1590. He has left a name greater than his works. He lived before literature arrived to a state of perfection in France. The parliament to which he was advocate-general, with reason reveres his memory. He died in 1656.

Bochard (Samuel) was born at Roan in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the most learned men in Europe in Languages and in History. He was one of those who went into Sweden to instruct and admire queen Christina. He died in 1667.

Boileau Despreaux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1636. He is the most correct of all our Poets. His works have been commented upon so much that any encomium would here be superfluous. He died in 1711.

Boileau (Giles) was born at Paris in 1631. He was elder brother to the famous Boileau. His translations are better than his poetry. He died in 1669.

Boivin (John) was born in Normandy in 1633. He was the brother of Lewis Boivin, and like him was serviceable in shewing the beauties of the Greek authors. He died in 1726.

The Abbe de Bos. His *History of the League of Cambray* is profound, political, and interesting. It shews the customs and manners of the age, and is a model in its kind. All our artists read with advantage his *reflections upon Poetry, Painting, and Music*. Nevertheless he did not understand music, could never write poetry, and was not possessed of a single picture. But he had read, seen, heard and reflected a great deal.

Bossu (Rene le) was born at Paris in 1631. He was a regular Canon of Saint Genevieve. He endeavoured to reconcile Aristotle with Descartes, not knowing that they ought both to be abandoned. His *Treatise upon the Epic Poem* has great reputa-

tion, but it will never form a poet. He died in 1680.

Bossuet (James Benigne) of Dijon, was born in 1627, was bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux. We have 51 different works by him; but his *funeral Orations* and his *discourse upon universal History* are the pieces which have conducted him to immortality. He died in 1704.

Bouchenu de Valbonnai (John Peter) was born at Grenoble in 1651. He travelled in his youth, and was on board the English fleet in the battle of Solbay. He was afterwards first president of the chamber of accounts in Dauphiny. His memory is held in esteem at Grenoble for the good which he did there, and the learned are obliged to him for his labours. He wrote his *Memoirs concerning Dauphiny*, when he was blind, and had the authors which were necessary in that work read to him. He died in 1730.

Boudier. He is the author of some verses which are simple and natural. He wrote his own Epitaph at the age of 86 years, just before he died.

J'étais poëte, historien;

Et maintenant, je ne suis rien.

I was a poet and historian:

But now am nothing.

Bouchier. President of the parliament of Dijon. He rendered himself celebrated by his erudition. He translated some pieces from the old Latin poets, into French verse. It was his opinion that

they ought not to be translated otherwise; but he shewed how difficult it is to succeed in the attempt.

Bouhours, (Dominick) the Jesuit was born at Paris in 1628. Language and good taste are much indebted to him. He has published some very excellent works, on which we have some very good criticisms: *ex privatis odiis respublica crescit*. He died in 1702.

Bouillaud (Imael) of Loudun, was born in 1605. He was skilled in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

The Count de Boulainvilliers of the house of Crouy. He was the most learned gentleman in the kingdom in history, and the most capable to write that of France, if he had not been too systematic. He calls the Feudal government, *The master-piece of human understanding*. He regrets the times wherein the people being the slaves to petty tyrants, who were ignorant and barbarous, had neither industry, commerce, nor property: and he thinks that a hundred lords, who were oppressors of the lands, and enemies to the king, composed the most perfect of all government. Yet notwithstanding this opinion, he was an excellent citizen; as, notwithstanding his weakness with regard to judicial astrology, he was a philosopher in that philosophy which esteems life as an inconsiderable thing, and which despises death. His writings, which should be read with precaution, are profound and useful. A long memoir is printed at the end of his work, to render the king of France richer than all other monarchs together. This piece plainly appears not

to be written by the Count de Boulainvilliers. He died about 1720.

Bourdaloue, was born at Bourges in 1632. He was a Jesuit, and the first of good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

Bourfeis, (Amable) was born in Auvergne in 1606. He was author of several political and controversial pieces. He and Silhon are suspected to have composed the *Testament politique*, attributed to cardinal Richlieu. He died in 1672.

Boursaut, (Edmond) was born in Burgundy in 1638. His *Letters to Babet*, which were esteemed in his time, are, like all other letters of the same kind, become the amusement only of youth in the country. His comedy of *Aesop* still continues to be acted. He died in 1701.

Brebeuf, (William) was born in Normandy in 1638. He is known by his translation of the *Pharsalia*; but it is not generally known that he is the author of *Lucan travestie*. He died in 1661.

Breteuil, Marchioness de Chatelet (Gabriel Emilia) was born in 1706. She has illustrated Leibnitz, and translated Newton with a commentary: a useless merit at court, but which is esteemed by all nations which pretend to knowlege, and she is admired by them for the greatness of her genius and eloquence. Of all the women which have distinguished France she had the most real wit and good sense, and affected them the least. She died in 1749.

Brienne, (Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de) secretary of state. He is the author of some *Memoirs*. Such writings, by ministers, would be useful works but then they should be such as those which have

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been lately published of the duke de Sully's. He died in 1666.

Le Brulere, (John) was born at Dourdan in 1644. It is certain that in his characters he described real persons of considerable rank. His work has produced many bad imitators. He died in 1696.

Brumoi (Peter le) the Jesuit. His *Theatre des Grecs*, is esteemed the best and most perfect work of the kind. But he has shewn that it is much easier to translate and shew the beauties of the ancients, than to equal our most celebrated moderns by his own productions.

Brun (Peter le) was born at Aix in 1661. He was of the oratory. His criticism upon *superstitious customs* has been regarded: but he may be compared to a physician who understands the nature of but few distempers. He died in 1729.

Buffier, (Clandius) a Jesuit. His artificial memory is of great service to those who would retain the principal facts in history in their minds. He has applied verse (I cannot say poetry) to its original intention, that of imprinting in the minds of men a remembrance of those events which were thought worthy to be preserved.

Buffy Rabeuin, (Roger Count de) was born in Nivernois in 1618. He wrote with correctness and purity. His misfortunes as well as his works are sufficiently known. He died at Autun in 1693.

Calprenede, (Gautier de la) was born at Cahors about the year 1612. He was gentleman in ordinary to the king. He was the first that raised a taste for long romances. He died in 1663.

Campistron (John) was born at Thoulouse in

1656. He was the pupil and imitator of Racine. The duke de Vendome, to whom he was secretary, made his fortune, and the comedian *Baron* part of his reputation. Some of his pieces are affecting, but they want force and dignity of expression: the language, however, is correct; and after him the language of dramatic pieces was so neglected, that we have at last written in a style absolutely barbarous. This was lamented by Boileau at the time of his death. Campifiron died 1723.

Du Cange, (Charles du Fresne) was born at Amiens in 1610. The usefulness of his two *Glossaries* for the explanation of the customs of the later empire, and the succeeding ages, is well known. He was one of those recompensed by Lewis. He died in 1688.

Cassini, (John Dominick) was born in the county of Niece in 1625, and being taken notice of by Colbert in 1666, he became one of the greatest astronomers of his time; but he began like the rest, with astrology. He died in 1712.

Catrou. He was a Jesuit, and was born in 1659. He wrote, in conjunction with father Rouille, the Roman History, in twenty volumes. They have endeavoured at eloquence, but have not shewn precision. He died in 1737.

Du Cerceau, a Jesuit. He wrote some pieces of poetry which are natural: they are of the midling kind; yet some of the verses are very happy. He died in 1730.

Le Chambre, (Marin Cureau de) was born at Mons in 1594. He was one of the first academicians. He died in 1669. He and his son have gained some reputation.

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Chantereau, (Lewis le Fevre) was born in 1588. He was a man of great learning, and one of the first who helped to clear up the history of France: but he has given a sanction to a great error, which is, that the hereditary fiefs did not commence till after Hugh Capet. Though we had no other example than that of Normandy, given or rather extorted under the title of an hereditary fief in 912, this might be sufficient to disprove the opinion of Chantereau, which has been adopted by several historians. It is however, certain, that Charlemagne instituted proprietary fiefs in France, and that this form of government was known before his time in Lombardy and Germany. He died in 1658.

Chapelain, (John) was born in 1595. Were it not for *the Pucelle*, he would have had reputation with the learned: yet this bad poem cost him much more pains than the *Iliad* did Homer. However, Chapelain is useful from his learning. He died in 1674.

La Chapelle, receiver-general of the financiers, was the author of some tragedies which had success in their time. He was one of those who endeavoured to imitate Racine; for Racine, without intending it, formed a school like the great painters. But he was a Raphael, who never formed a Julio Romano: yet his first disciples wrote at least with correctness of style; whereas in the declension which has since ensued, tragedies have appeared wherein there are not four lines together without some gross faults: so low are we sunk, and so excessive bad are our pieces now, though we have had such great models.

Chapelle, (Claudius l'Huillier) natural son of

L'Huillier, master of accounts. It is not true that he was the first who introduced repeated rhimes; D'Assouci used them before his time, even with some success.

Pourquoi donc, sexe au tient de Rose,

Quand la Charite vous impose

Le Loi d'aimer votre prochain,

Pouvez vous me hair sans cause.

Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien?

Ab! pour mon honneur je vois bien

Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose. etc.

Chapelle succeeded better than others in that species of poetry whose excellence consists in grace and harmony; but herein he has sometimes preferred a barren superfluity of rhimes to the justness of thought and expression. His voluptuous life, and inconsiderable pretensions, contributed to the reputation of his pieces. It is known that in his voyage to Montpellier, there are many passages on Bachaumont, son of the president Coigneux and one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was also one of the best of Gassendi's pupils. He died in 1686.

Charleval, (John Faucon de Ris) one of those who gained reputation by his fine genius, without prostituting himself to the public. The famous conversation between marshal d'Hoquincourt and father Canaye, which is printed in the works of Saint Evremont, is written by Charleval, excepting only the little dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which is added to it by Saint Evremont. The style of the latter is very different from the

former. The late monsieur de Caumartin, counsellor of state, was possessed of the manuscript of Charleval's piece, in ~~his~~ his own hand writing. We read in Moreri, that the president de Ris, the nephew of Charleval, would not print his uncle's works, lest his being an author should be considered as a blemish upon his family. But his understanding and condition must be very abject who should advance such a notion in this age. This pride, in a man of the long robe, might have been excusable in the military and barbarous times, wherein study was abandoned entirely to those of the robe, through contempt both for them and learning.

Chardin, (John) was born at Paris in 1643. No traveller has left more curious memoirs behind him than his. He died at London in 1713.

Charpentier, (Francis) was born at Paris in 1620. He was an useful academician. We have a translation of the *Cyropedia* by him. He strongly maintained the opinion, that the inscriptions on the public monuments of France, ought to be in French. In reality it is degrading a language which is spoken in all Europe, not to make use of it; and the design of these inscriptions is frustrated by speaking to the public in a language which three parts in four do not understand. He died in 1702.

La Chatre, (Edme Marquis de) was the author of some memoirs. He died in 1645.

Chalieu, (William) was born in Normandy in 1639. He is remarkable for the ease and negligence of his poetry, and for the bold and voluptuous beauties which it contains. He died in 1720.

Cheminais, a Jesuit. He was called the Racine of preachers, and Bourdaloue the Corneille.

Cherron, (Elizabeth) was born at Paris in 1648. She was celebrated for music, poetry, and painting. She died in 1711.

Chevreau, (Urban) was born at Loudun in 1613. He was a man of wit and learning, and had great reputation. He died in 1701.

Chifflet, (John James) was born at Befancon in 1588. We have several curious enquiries by him. He died in 1660. There have been seven writers of this name.

Choisi, (Francis de) was born at Rouen in 1644. He was sent envoy to Siam, and has given us a relation of that voyage. He is the author of several histories, a *Translation of the imitation of Jesus Christ*, dedicated to madam de Maintenon, with this epitaph, *concupiscet rex decorem tuum*: and some *Memoirs of the Countess des Barreſs*, which Countess he was himself.

Claude, (John) was born in Angenois in 1619. He was a Calvinist minister in Holland. He was the oracle of his party, and had the honour to combat Arnould, Nichole, Bossuet, etc. He died in 1687.

Le Comte, (Charles) was born at Troies in 1611. He was of the Oratory. His Ecclesiastical annals, printed at the Louvre by order of the king, is an useful work. He died in 1681.

Collet, (Philbert) was born at Dombes in 1643. He was a lawyer, and a man of free sentiments. He was excommunicated by the archbishop of Lyons for a parochial quarrel, and he wrote against the excommunication. He declaimed against the reclusive lives of priests and nuns; and in his treatise upon usury, he strongly maintained the custom au-

thorized in Bresse, of stipulating the interest with the capital, which custom is authorized in the greatest part of Europe, and practised in the other by all merchants, etc. notwithstanding the laws to the contrary. He also affirmed that the tenths which are paid to the clergy are not of divine institution. He died in 1718.

Colomiez, (Paul) the time of his birth is unknown; and most of his works begin to be so; but they are of use to those who love literary enquiries. He died at London in 1692.

Commire, a Jesuit. He had success among those who think that good Latin verses may be composed, and who imagine that the age of Augustus may be restored by strangers, in a language which they cannot even pronounce.

Cordemoi, (Geraud) was born at Paris. We are indebted to him for dissipating the chaos which reigned in the accounts of the two first races of our kings; and this useful enterprize was owing to the duke de Montausier, who engaged Cordemoi to write the history of Charlemagne for the education of *Monseigneur*. In the old authors he found little more than absurdities and contradictions: but the difficulty encouraged him, and he at last developed the two first races. He died in 1684.

Corneille (Peter) was born at Rouen 1606. Though not more than four or five pieces are now acted out of thirty three of which he is the author, he will always be regarded as the father of the stage. He was the first who raised the genius of the nation. It is said his translation of the imitation of Jesus Christ, has been printed 32 times. It is as

difficult to believe this, as it is to read the book once. He received a gratuity from the king in his last sickness. He died in 1684.

Corneille (Thomas) was born at Rouen 1625. He was a man who would have had a great reputation, if he had had no brother. We have of him 34 dramatic pieces. He died in 1709.

Cousin (Lewis) was born at Paris in 1627. He was president in the court of Monies. We are indebted to him for many translations of the Grecian historians, which only he has done well. He died in 1707.

Dacier (Andrew) was born at Casters in 1651. He was a Calvinist as well as his wife, and like her became a Catholic. He was library-keeper in the king's cabinet at Paris, which employment no longer subsists. He was rather a man of learning than an elegant writer, but his translations and notes will be for ever useful. He died at the Louvre in 1722.

Danchet (Anthony) by the assistance of music succeeded in some operas, which are not so bad as his tragedies.

Danet (Peter) was one of those men whose reputation has not been so great as his usefulness. His dictionaries of the Latin tongue and of antiquities are of the number of those memorable books composed for the education of the Dauphin, and which, if they did not make this prince a man of learning, have greatly contributed to increase the knowledge of France. He died in 1709.

Dangeau (Lewis Abbe de) was born in 1643. He was an excellent academician. He died in 1723.

Daniel (Gabriel) the Jesuit. He was historiographer of France, and has corrected the errors of Mezeray in regard to the first and second races of our kings. He has been reproached in that his diction is not always sufficiently pure, that his style is too weak, that he does not interest his readers, that he is no painter, and that he has been too concise in regard to our laws, customs, and manners. Nevertheless he has shewn himself well informed, accurate, judicious, and sincere: and if he cannot be ranked among our great writers, he may at least be classed with our best historians; nor have we any history of France preferable to his. Father Daniel in vain pretends that the first ages of the history of France are more interesting than those of Rome, because Clovis and Dagobert had a greater extent of territory than Romulus and Tarquin. He was not sensible that the weak beginnings of whatever becomes great, will always interest mankind: we love to trace the low origin of a people to which France became only a province, and which extended its empire to the banks of the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger. It must be confessed that our history as well as those of other nations, from the fifth century to the fifteenth of the vulgar æra, can be considered as little better than a chaos of barbarous adventures, under barbarous names.

Dargonne (Noel) was born at Paris in 1634. He was a Carthusian at Gaillon, and the only one of that order who has cultivated literature. His *Melanges* or *Miscellanies*, under the name of Vigneul de Marville, are full of curious bold anecdotes. He died in 1704.

Descartes (Rene) was born in Touraine in 1596. He was the son of a counsellor in the parliament of Bretagne. He was the greatest mathematician of his age, but a philosopher who understood nature the least, if we compare him with those who have succeeded him. He spent the greatest part of his life out of France, to pursue his philosophical studies at liberty, in imitation of Saumaïse, who had done the same. Like many other philosophers, he was accused of atheism, after having proved the existence of a God better than any of them. He died at Stockholm in 1650.

Desmarets de Saint Sorlin (John) was born at Paris in 1595. He took great pains with cardinal de Richelieu's tragedy of *Mirame*. His comedy of *Visionaries* was regarded as a master-piece, but it was because Moliere had not then appeared. He was comptroller general extraordinary for military affairs, and secretary of the marine for the Levant. Towards the end of his life he was more remarkable for his fanaticism than for his works. He died in 1676.

Domat. He was a celebrated lawyer. His book upon the civil laws is in great esteem.

Doujat (John) was born at Thoulouse in 1639. He was a lawyer, and a man of learning. He published a book, and got his wife with child every year. The *Journal des Scavans* calls him a great man. But this title should not be lavished upon him too freely. He died in 1688.

Dubois (Gerard) was born at Orleans in 1629. He was of the Oratory. He has composed a *History of the Church of Paris*. He died in 1696.

Duche, Valet de Chambre to Lewis XIV, com-

posed some tragedies for the court, taken from the scriptures in imitation of Racine, but not with the same success.

Duchene (Andrew) was born in Touraine in 1584. He was historiographer to the King, and author of many histories and genealogical enquiries. He has been called the father of the history of France. He died in 1640.

Dufrenoi (Charles) was born at Paris in 1611. He was both a painter and a poet. His Poem upon painting has been approved by those who can read other Latin verses besides those of the age of Augustus: he died in 1665.

Dufreni (Charles) was born at Paris in 1648. He passed for the grandson of Henry IV. whom he resembled. His father had been groom of the chambers to Lewis XIII. and the son had the same post under Lewis XIV. who, notwithstanding his irregularities, bestowed many favours upon him; but he could not prevent him from dying poor. Though he had great wit, and other talents of a good writer, he was never able to compose any regular piece. He is the author of many comedies, in most of which there are very singular and diverting scenes. He died in 1724.

Dupleix (Scipio) of Condom, though born in 1559, may be included in the age of Lewis XIV. for he was still living under his reign. He is the first historian who has cited his authorities in the margin; which precaution is absolutely necessary in writing the history of past times. His history of France is no longer read, because we have others written since in a

better and more agreeable manner. He died in 1661.

Esprit (James) was born at Bezeirs in 1611. He was the author of a book upon *the falsity of human virtues*, which is nothing more than a commentary upon the duke de la Rochefoucault. The chancellor Seguier, who was pleased with his parts, procured him the place of counsellor of state. He died in 1678.

The Marquis de la Fare, known by his *Memoirs* and by some agreeable verses. His talent for poetry did not appear till he was near sixty years old. It was madam de Cailus, one of the most amiable ladies of this age both for her wit and beauty, upon whom he wrote his first verses, which, perhaps, are the most delicate of all that he has written.

*M'abandonnant un jour a la tristesse
Sans esperance et meme sans desirs,
Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
Dont la douceur enchanta ma jeunesse :
Sont-ils perdus, disais je, sans retour,
Et n'est-tu pas cruel, amour !
Toi que j'ai fait de mon enfance,
Le maitre de mes plus beaux jours,
D'en laisser terminer le cours
Al'ennuieuse indifference ?
Alors j'appercus dans les airs
L'enfant maitre de l'univers,
Me dit en souriant, Tircis ne te plains plus,
Je vais mettre fin a ta peine,
Je te promets un regard de Cailus.*

Abandon'd to grief, on my pillow reclin'd,
 Past all the sweet hopes and warm wishes of love;
 I regretted their loss, and in secret repined,
 That the raptures of youth I no longer could prove.

And are they quite gone? will they never return?
 O Cupid! I cry'd, thy ill nature behold:
 I devoted my youth on thy altars to burn;
 And now thou wilt leave me insensibly cold.

This said, I perceived hov'ring up in the air
 The sly little tyrant who governs mankind,
 Who, with an arch look, cry'd, good Thyrsis
 forbear,
 For Caelia shall cure thee with looks that are
 kind.

He died in 1713.

La Fayette (Mary Magdalen de la Vergne Countess de) her *Princess of Cleves* and her *Zaide* were the first romances, wherein justness of behaviour and natural adventures are described with grace. Before her time these pieces were written in a bombast stile and filled with things which were incredible. She died in 1593.

Felibien, (Andrew) was born at Chartres in 1619. He is the first who gave Lewis XIV. the surname of *Great*, in the inscriptions in the Hotel de Ville. His *Dialogues upon the lives of the painters*, is the work which has done him the greatest honour. It is elegant, and profound; and the most excellent taste is every where shewn throughout the whole. But he says too little in too many

words, and is absolutely without method. He died in 1695.

Fenelon (Francis de Salignac) Archbishop of Cambray, was born in Perigord in 1651. He is the author of fifty five different works. They all come from a heart endued with the highest virtue, but his *Telemachus* inspires it. He has been vainly blamed by Guendeville and the Abbe Faidit. He died at Cambray in 1715.

Ferrand, Counsellor of the court of aids. He is the author of some very good poetry.

Feuquieres de Pas (le marquis de) was born at Paris in 1648. He was perfectly skilled in the art of war; and was an excellent guide, though perhaps he was too severe a critic. He died in 1711.

Le Fevre (Tannegui) was born at Caen in 1615. He was a Calvinist, a professor at Saumur, despised those of the sect, though he always continued among them. He was rather a Philosopher than an Huguenot. He wrote Latin as correctly as a dead language can be written, and was the author of some Greek verses which should have had but few readers. Learning is indebted to him the most for having produced madam Dacier. He died in 1678.

La Fevre (Anne) Madam Dacier. Born a Calvinist at Saumur in 1651: Illustrious for her learning. The Duke de Montausier set her to work upon one of those Classics published for the use of the Dauphin; Florus with the Latin notes was hers. Her translations of Terence and Homer do her immortal honour. She could be blamed for nothing, but for having too high an opinion of

her own translations. La Motte attacked her with wit, but she defended herself with erudition. She died at the Louvre in 1720.

Flechier (Esprit) of Avignon, was born in 1632. He was bishop of Lauvar and afterwards of Nîmes. He was a poet, both in Latin and French, an historian, and a preacher; and he is particularly celebrated for his fine funeral orations. His history of Theodosius was written for the education of *Monsieur*. The Duke de Montausier engaged the most eminent geniuses in France by their writings to facilitate this education. He died in 1710.

Fleury (Claudius) was born in 1640. He was sub-preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and confessor to his son Lewis XV. Though he lived at court, he spent his life in study and retirement. His history of the church is the best that has been written, and the preliminary Discourses are even better than the history. He died in 1723.

La Fontaine (John) was born at Chateau-Thierry in 1621. He had the greatest simplicity of all men; and though careless and unequal, he was admirable in his way. He was the only great man of the age who did not partake of the generosity of Lewis XIV. to which he had certainly a right both by his merit and poverty. He died in 1695.

Forbin (Claudius Chevalier de) was a commodore in the service of France, and high admiral to the King of Siam. He left behind him some curious Memoirs, which have been revised and published. A comparison may be drawn between him and Gue-Trouin.

La Fosse (Anthony) was born in 1658. *Mandrin* is his best theatrical piece. He died in 1708.

Fraguier (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1666. He was a man of learning and great taste. He is the author only of some Latin verses and dissertations. He died in 1728.

Furetiere (Anthony) was born in 1620. He is celebrated for his Dictionary and his Disputes. He died in 1688.

Gallant (Anthony) was born in Picardy, in 1646. He learnt the oriental languages at Constantinople, and translated part of the Arabian Tales, which are known under the title of *Mille et une nuit*, or *Arabian nights entertainments*. He died in 1715.

Gacon (Francis) was born at Lions in 1667. He is placed by father Niceron in the catalogue of illustrious men, though he has been famous only for bad satires. He was principally concerned in that collection of coarse pleasantries which is called the *Breves de la Calotte*. These obscenities had their source from I know not what association called the regiments of fools and de la Calotte. They are certainly not the product of good taste. Men of sense regard such works and their authors with contempt; and they cannot be cited but as an example to be detested. He died in 1725.

Abbe Gallois (John) was born at Paris in 1632. His learning was universal. He was the first who published the *Journal de Scavans*, in conjunction with the counsellor Clerk Sallo, who had formed the design of this work. He afterwards taught a little Latin to Colbert the minister of state, who notwithstanding his business thought he had time enough to learn this language: he took most of the lessons in his coach, in his journies from Versailles

to Paris. It was said, not without probability, that he learnt Latin with a view of being chancellor. We may here observe, that the two men who have been the greatest patrons of learning, Lewis XIV. and Colbert, neither of them understood Latin. He died in 1707.

Gassendi, (Peter) was born in Provence in 1590. He revived part of the philosophy of Epicurus. He was convinced of the necessity of atoms and a vacuum: and what was affirmed by Gassendi has since been demonstrated by Sir Isaac Newton and others. He had less reputation than Descartes, because he was more reasonable, and did not form any hypothesis: but he was accused of atheism as well as Descartes. It was the opinion of some, that he who admitted a vacuum, as Epicurus, with him also denied the existence of a God. This is the reasoning of calumniators. In Provence, where none were jealous of him, Gassendi was called a pious divine; but at Paris he was called incredulous by those who envied him. He died in 1656.

Gedouin, canon of the holy chapel at Paris. He is the author of an excellent translation of Quintilian, etc.

Abbe Genest, was born in 1635. He was almoner to the duchess of Orleans, wife to the regent. He is the author of several tragedies. His *Penelope* had great success. He died in 1719.

Le Gendre, (Lewis) was born at Rouen in 1655. He has written a history of France. To write this history well, would require the pen and the liberty of a president de Thou; and even then it would be very difficult to make the first ages interesting. He died in 1733.

Abbe Girard. His book upon synonymous words is of great use.

Godeau, (Anthony) one of those who served to establish the French academy. He was a poet, an orator, and an historian. He turned the *Benedicite* into verse, and for this *play of words*, Cardinal Richlieu gave him the bishopric of Grasse. His ecclesiastical history in prose was more esteemed than his poem upon the Fasti of the church. He was deceived in imagining he could equal Ovid's Fasti: neither his subject nor his genius were equal to it. It is a great mistake to imagine that subjects taken from christianity can be as proper for poetry as those taken from paganism, the mythology of which, as agreeable as it is false, animates all nature. He died in 1672.

Godefroi, (Theodorus) was the son of Dionysius Godefroi, a Parisian. He was born at Geneva in 1580, and was a man of learning. He was historiographer of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV. He applied himself particularly to titles and ceremonies. He died in 1649.

Godefroi, (Dyonysius) his son, was born at Paris in 1615. He was historiographer of France as well as his father. He died in 1681.

Gomberville, (Marin) was born at Paris in 1600. He was one of the first Academicians. He was the author of some very long romances before good taste prevailed. He died in 1674.

Condi, (John Francis) cardinal de Retz, was born in 1613, and in his youth lived like *Catiline*, and like *Atticus* in his old age. Several parts of his memoirs are worthy of Sallust; but the whole is not equal. He died in 1679.

Gourville, was valet de chambre to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, became his friend, and even a friend of the great Conde's. He was hanged in effigy at Paris, and at the same time sent ambassador by the King into Germany. He was afterwards proposed as a successor to the great Colbert in his ministry. He has written memoirs of his life, which are plain and artless, and wherein he speaks of his birth and fortune with indifference.

LeGrand, (Joachim) was born in Normandy in 1653. He was a pupil of father le Cointe. He was most profoundly read in history. He died in 1732.

Guerret, (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1641. He was known in his time by his Parnassus reformed, and by the battle of the authors. He had some taste: but his discourse, *whether the empire of eloquence is superior to that of love*, will not prove him possessed of the former. He composed the journal of the palace in conjunction with Blondeau: this journal of the palace is a collection of the arrets of the parliaments of France, wherein different decrees are frequently given in celebrated causes. Nothing better shews the necessity of a reformation in our laws, than this necessity for a collection of these arrets. He died 1688.

Du Guet, (James Joseph) was born in Forez in 1649. He was one of the best writers among the Jansenists. His book upon *the education of a King*, was not composed for the King of Sardinia, as has been said. He died in 1733.

Du Gue-Trouin, from commander of a privateer became lieutenant-general of the naval forces. He was one of the greatest men in his profession.

He has written some memoirs in the stile of a soldier, which are proper to excite emulation in his countrymen.

Du Hamel, (John Baptist) of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was secretary to the academy of sciences. Though a philosopher he was a good divine: but the improvements in philosophy since his time have discredited his works: yet his name has been preserved. He died in 1706.

Count de Hamilton, (Anthony) was born at Caen. He is the author of some excellent poems; and he is the first who wrote romances, with humour, yet without the burlesque of Scarron.

Harduin, (John) a Jesuit. He had great knowledge in history; but his sentiments were chimerical.

Henaut, known by the sonnet of Averton, and by other pieces. He would have gained great reputation, had the three first books of his translation of Lucretius, which were lost, been preserved, and been equal to what we have of this work. Posterity must not confound him with another person of the same name, and of superior merit; to whom we are indebted for one of the shortest and best chronological histories of France. This, perhaps, is the only manner in which all great histories should now be written: for the multiplicity of facts and writings is become so great, that they must all necessarily be soon reduced to extracts and dictionaries. But it will be difficult to imitate the author of the chronological abridgement, by going to the bottom of so many things, and yet appear only to touch slightly upon them.

D'Herbelot, (Bartholomew) was born at Paris in

1625 : he was the first among the French who understood the oriental languages and history : he was at first but little regarded in his own country : he was received by Ferdinand the second, Duke of Tuscany, with a distinction which taught France to know his merit : he was afterwards recalled and encouraged by Colbert, who encouraged every thing : his *Oriental Library* is equally curious and profound : he died in 1695.

Hermant, (Godfrey) was born at Beauvais in 1617 : his works are merely polemical, and have sunk into oblivion with the disputes which produced them : he died in 1690.

Le Hire, (Philip) was born at Paris in 1641 : he was the son of a good painter, was a great mathematician, and greatly contributed to the famous French meridian : he died in 1718.

L'Hopital, (Francis Marquis de) was born in 1662 : he was the first who wrote in France upon Sir Isaac Newton's calculations, which he called *les infiniment petits* : this was then regarded as a prodigy : he died in 1704.

D'Hosier, (Peter) was born at Marseilles in 1592 : he was the son of a lawyer : he was the first who regulated genealogies, and formed them into a science. Lewis XIII. made him Maitre d'Hotel, and gentleman in ordinary of his chamber. Lewis XIV. made him a counsellor of state. True great men have frequently been much less recompensed. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity : he died in 1660.

Des Houlieres, (Antoinetta de la Garde) of all the French ladies who have studied poetry she has

succeeded the best, for her verses still continue to be more read than any other of her sex: she died in 1694.

Huet, (Peter Daniel) was born at Caen in 1630: he was a man of universal learning, and preserved his love for study to the age of ninety one: he was sent for to Stockholm by Queen Christina: he was afterwards one of those illustrious men who contributed to the education of the Dauphin. No prince ever had such masters. Huet entered into priests orders at the age of forty; and had the Bishopric of Avranché, which he afterwards abdicated to apply himself entirely to his studies in retirement. Of all his works, those upon *The commerce and navigation of the ancients, and upon the origin of romances*, are of the greatest use: his *Treatise upon the weakness of the human understanding*, has made a great noise, and has been thought by some to contradict his *Evangelical demonstration*: he died in 1721.

Jacquelot, (Isaac) was born in Champagne in 1647: he was a Calvinist, and was a pastor at the Hague and at Berlin: he is the author of some pieces upon religion: he died in 1708.

Joli, (Gui) counsellor of the Chatelet, and secretary to Cardinal Mazarin, is the author of some memoirs, which compared with those written by the Cardinal, are what the domestic is compared with his master; yet there are some curious things in them.

De l'Isle, (William) was born at Paris in 1675: he reformed geography, which will long have occasion to be improved. It was he who changed the whole position of our hemisphere with regard to

longitude: he taught geography to Lewis XV. and never had a better pupil. This monarch, after his master's death, wrote a treatise upon the courses of rivers. William de l'Isle was the first who had the title of principal geographer to the king: he died in 1726.

L'abbe, (Philip) was born at Bourges in 1607: he was a Jesuit: he has done great service to history, and is the author of seventy six different works: he died in 1667.

Le Laboureur, (John) was born at Montmorency in 1623: he has contributed greatly to enlighten history. It is pity he is the author of the poem upon *Charlemagne*: he died in 1675.

Laine, or Lainez, (Alexander) was born in Hainault in 1650: his poetry is singular, some of his lines are very happy, but these are not numerous: he died in 1710.

Lambert, (Anne Theresia de Marguenat de Courcelles, Marchioness de) was born in 1647: she was a lady of great wit, and has written some pieces upon moral subjects, which are very useful, and the stile of them agreeable: her treatise upon friendship shews she deserved to have friends. The number of ladies who adorned this illustrious age, is one of the greatest proofs of the progress of the human understanding.

Le donne son venute in eccellenza,

Di ciascun' arte ove hanno posto cura. ARIOST.

She died at Paris in 1733.

Lami (Bernard) was born at Mons in 1640: he

was of the Oratory: he was learned in many things: he composed his elements of Mathematics on a journey, which he performed on foot, from Grenoble to Paris: he died in 1715.

Lancelot (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1615: he was concerned in some very useful works, which were undertaken by the recluses of Port-Royal, for the education of youth: he died in 1695.

De Larrey (Isaac) was born in Normandy in 1638: his history of England was esteemed before the publication of Rapin's; but his history of Lewis XIV. never was: he died at Berlin in 1719.

Launai (Francis) was born at Angers in 1612: he studied the law, and was a man of learning: he was the first who taught the French law at Paris: he died in 1693.

Launoy (John) was born at Normandy in 1603: he was a doctor of divinity: he was a man of learning, indefatigable, and an intrepid critic: he exploded several errors, particularly concerning the saints, whose existence he denied. We may judge whether he was likely to have enemies. A curate of Saint Roch is known to have said these words: *I always make profound obeisance to him, for fear he should deprive me of my Saint Roch*: he died in 1678.

Lauriere (Eusebius) was born at Paris in 1659: he was a lawyer. No one ever gained a greater knowledge in jurisprudence and the origin of laws: he drew up the plan for the collection of the ordinances; which is an immense work, and distinguishes the reign of Lewis XV: he died in 1728.

Lemery (Nicholas) was born at Rouen in 1645: he was the first reasonable Chymist, and the first who

gave a universal Pharmacopoeia : he died in 1715.

Lenfant (James) was born in Beaussé in 1661 : he was a Calvinist : his history of the council of Constance is his best work : he died at Berlin in 1728.

Des Lions (John) was born at Pontoise in 1615 : he was a doctor of the Sorbonne, an extraordinary man, and the author of several polemical pieces : he endeavoured to prove that the rejoicings at the feast of kings are profanations, and that the world would soon be at an end : he died in 1700.

Le Long (James) was born at Paris in 1655 : he was of the Oratory : *His historical library of France*, if we except some errors, is a very curious and useful work : he died in 1721.

Dé Longuerue (Lewis du Four) was born at Charleville in 1652 : he was Abbe of Jard. Besides the learned languages, he understood all those of Europe and universal history. It is said, that he composed from his memory the historical and geographical description of France antient and modern : he died about the year 1724.

Longueval (James) was born in 1681 : he was a Jesuit : he has written eight volumes upon the history of the Gallican church, which have been continued by father Fontenay : he died in 1735.

De la Loubere (Simon) was born at Toulouse in 1643, and was sent to Siam in 1687. We have memoirs of this country, written by him, which are better than his sonnets and odes : he died in 1729.

Mabillon (John) was born in Champagne in 1632 : he was a Benedictine. It was he, who, being appointed to shew the treasury of Saint Denis, asked leave to resign that employ, because he could not bear to tell fabulous stories with real

truths: he has made some profound enquiries. Colbert employed him in examining antient titles: he died in 1707.

Maignan (Emanuel) was born at Toulouse in 1601: he was a Religious of the Minime order: he was one of those who learned mathematics without a master: he was professor of mathematics at Rome, where there has always since been a French mathematical professor of this order: he died at Toulouse in 1676.

Malebranche (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1638: he was one of the Oratory: he was one of the most profound thinkers that ever wrote. Being animated with that strength of imagination, which gains more profelytes than truth, he had several, in his time, who were called Malebranchists: he has most admirably demonstrated the errors of the senses and the imagination; but when he attempted to discover the nature of the soul, he lost himself in an abyss, as others had done before him. Like Des Cartes, he was a great man, from whom, nevertheless, very little is to be learned: he died in 1715.

Malezieux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1650. The Duke of Burgundy's elements of geometry are the lessons which he gave that prince: he gained reputation by his profound learning. The Dukes of Maine made his fortune: he died in 1727.

De Marca (Peter) was born in 1594: being a widower and having several children, he embraced an ecclesiastical life, and was presented to the archbishopric of Paris: his book *upon the unity betwixt church and state* is esteemed: he died in 1662.

De Maroles (Michael) was born in Touraine in 1600: he was the son of the celebrated Claudius

de Maroles, captain of the hundred Switzers, well known by his combat with Marivaux at the head of the army of Henry IV. Michael, Abbe of Villedoin, composed 69 works, several of which were translations, and useful in their time: he died in 1681.

Marfolliers (James) was born at Paris in 1657: he was a regular canon of Saint Genevieve; and is known by several histories, which are well written; he died in 1724.

Martignac (Stephen) was born in 1628: he was the first who gave a tolerable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, etc. I question whether it is possible to translate them well into verse. To render them with equal spirit would not be sufficient. The difference of the two languages is an obstacle, which is almost unsurmountable: he died in 1698.

La Marre (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1641: he was commissary of the Chatelet: he is the author of a work, which was proper to one in his station: this was, *the history of the Police*. But it is useful only to the Parisians, and more proper to consult than to read. As a recompense for this work, he had a share in the profits arising from the theatre, which, however, he never enjoyed: it would have been just to as much purpose to have assigned a pension to the comedians to be paid out of the wages of the watch.

Mascaron (Julius) of Marseilles, was born in 1634: he was bishop of Tulle, and afterwards of Agen: his funeral orations, at first, were thought to equal those of Bossuet; but now they only serve to shew what a great man Bossuet was: he died in 1703.

Maffillon, was born in Provence in 1663: he was of the Oratory, and bishop of Clermont: he was a preacher, who knew the world better than most men: he was more flowery than Bourdaloue, and more agreeable; and his eloquence at once shewed a man of sense, of the court, and of the academy: he was a man of a philosophical turn, was moderate in his opinions, and favoured toleration: he died in 1742.

Maucroix (Francis) was born at Noyen in 1619: he was an historian, a poet, and a man of learning.

Menage (Giles) of Angers, was born in 1613: he has shewn that it is easier to write verses in Italian than in French: his Italian poetry is esteemed even in Italy, and our language is greatly indebted to him: he was learned in many things: he died in 1692.

Menetrier (Claudius Francis) was born in 1631: he has contributed greatly to the science of heraldry, emblems and devices: he died in 1705.

Meri (John) was born in Berry in 1645: he distinguished himself in surgery; and is the author of some useful observations: he died in 1722.

Mezeray (Francis) was born at Argentan in Normandy in 1610: his history of France is well known: his other writings not so much: he lost his salary for having said what he believed to be truth: he is less accurate than bold in his assertions, and his stile is unequal: he died in 1683.

De Moine (Peter) a Jesuit, was born in 1602: his *Devotion aisée* rendered him ridiculous. But he might have become a great man by his *Louisiade*: he had a prodigious imagination. What could be the reason, then, that he did not succeed? it was because he wanted taste, did not understand the

genius of the language, and wanted friends who would tell him the truth: he died in 1671.

Moliere (John Baptift) was born at Paris in 1620: he was the best comic poet that ever lived in any nation. The difficulty which happened concerning his interment is a reproach to France. This article engaged us in a review of the ancient comic poets. And it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our theatre with the irregular scenes of the antients, their weak intrigues, the strange practice of declaring by actors, in cold and unnatural monodies, what they had done, and what they would do; it must be confessed, I say, that Moliere retrieved Comedy out of chaos, as Corneille had Tragedy; and that the French have been superior in this respect to all the people upon earth: he died in 1673.

Mongaut, Preceptor to the Duke of Orleans son of the Regent: his translation of Cicero's epistles, and his notes upon them, are in great esteem.

La Monnoie (Bernard) was born in 1641: he was a man of great learning: he died in 1732.

Montfaucon (Bernard) was born in 1655: he was a Benedictine, and one of the most learned antiquarians in Europe: he died in 1741.

Montpensier (Anne Maria Louisa d'Orleans) known by the name of *Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston d'Orleans, was born at Paris in 1627: her memoirs are rather those of a woman, full of herself, than of one who was a witness of the affairs of Europe; but many curious particulars are contained in them: she died in 1693.

Moreri (Lewis) was born in Provence in 1643.

It was not expected, that the author of the *Pais d'amour*, and the translator of *Roderiques*, would in his youth undertake the first dictionary of facts that ever appeared. This great work cost him his life. The work, which is now corrected and greatly augmented, still bears his name, though he can scarce now be considered as the author of it. It is a new city built upon an old plan. Too many doubtful genealogies have injured this useful work: he died in 1680.

Morin (Michael John Baptift) was born in Beaujolois in 1583: he was a physician, a mathematician, and from the prejudices of the times an astrologer: he cast the nativity of Lewis XIV. Yet, notwithstanding these ridiculous pretences, he was a man of learning.

Morin (John) was born at Blois in 1591: he was a great critic, and had great knowledge of the oriental languages: he died at the Oratory in 1659.

Morin (Simon) was born in Normandy in 1623: he is mentioned here only to deplore his fatal folly, and that of Saint Sorlin Desmarets his accuser. Saint Sorlin was a Fanatic, and accused another of being so. Morin, who should only have been sent to Bedlam was buried alive in 1663, before philosophy had made a sufficient progress to prevent men of learning from being dogmatical, and judges from being so cruel.

La Motte-Houdart (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1672: he was celebrated for his works, and amiable for his manners: he had many friends; that is to say, many persons were pleased with his conversation. But I saw him die in 1731; not a single friend attended his bed-side.

De Motteville (Frances Bertaut) was born in Normandy in 1615. This lady is the author of some *Memoirs*, which particularly concerned queen Anne the mother of Lewis XIV. Many little facts are contained in them, which are related with great appearance of sincerity. She died in 1669.

Le Nain de Tillemont (Sebastian) son of John le Nain, master of requests, was born at Paris in 1637. He was the pupil of Nichole, and was one of the most learned writers of Port-Royal. His history of the emperors, and his sixteen volumes of ecclesiastical history, are written with as much truth as compilations from ancient authors can be. But history, before the invention of printing, being seldom contradicted, was very inaccurate. He died in 1698.

Naude, (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1600. He was a physician, but a better philosopher. He was first attached to cardinal Barberini, at Rome, afterwards to cardinal Richelieu, then to Mazarin, and at last to queen Christina, of whose learned court he for some time made one. He finally retired to Abbeville, where he died as soon as he enjoyed perfect independence. Of all his works, his *Apslogy for the great men accused of magic*, is almost the only one now regarded. A larger work than this might be composed upon the great men accused of impiety, since the days of Socrates.

——— *Populus nam solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit.*

He died in 1653.

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Nemours, (Mary de Longueville Duchess of) was born in 1625. She is the author of some memoirs, which contain some particulars of the unhappy times of the Fronde. She died in 1707.

Nevers (Philip duke of) wrote several pieces of poetry in a very singular taste: his genius and talents were brought to perfection in his grand-son. He died in 1707.

Niceron, (John Peter) of the oratory, was born at Paris in 1685. He wrote *Memoirs of persons illustrious in literature*: all learned men are not illustrious; but he speaks of each with propriety, and does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves to be ranked among those men of learning who have been useful. He died in 1738.

Nicole, (Father) was born at Chartres in 1625. He was one of the best writers in Port-Royal. His writings against the Jesuits are now but little read; but his *Moral Essays*, which are of use to mankind, will never perish. In particular the chapter upon the means of preserving peace in society is a master piece, which cannot be equalled by any thing on the same subject in all antiquity. But this peace is perhaps as difficult to establish as that of the abby of Saint Peter. He died in 1695.

D'Orleans, (Joseph) a Jesuit. He was the first who chose revolutions for the subjects of his histories. Those of England by him are written in an eloquent style. But to the reign of Henry VIII. it is rather fine writing than a just relation. He died in 1698.

Ozanam, (James) a Jew by birth, was born near Dombès in 1640. He learnt geometry without a master at the age of fifteen. He was the first who compiled a *Mathematical dictionary*. His *Mathe-*

matal recreations have always been esteemed. He died in 1717.

Pagi, (Anthony) a provincial, was born in 1624. He was a Franciscan. He corrected Baronius, and had a pension from the clergy for that work. He died in 1699.

Papin, (Isaac) was born at Blois in 1657. He was a Calvinist; but afterwards changing this persuasion, he wrote against it. He died in 1709.

Pardies, (Ignatius Gaston) a Jesuit, was born at Po in 1638. He made himself known by his *Elements of Geometry*, and by his book upon the *Souls of beasts*. He died in 1673.

Parent, (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1666. He was a good mathematician. He was another of those who learnt geometry without a master. What is most remarkable in him is, that he lived happily a long time at Paris upon less than ten pounds a year. He died in 1716.

Pascal, (Blaise) son of the first intendant established at Rouen, was born in 1623. He was a man of a forward genius, the superiority of which he was for using as kings use their power, by subjecting every thing to its force. Language and eloquence are greatly indebted to him. He died in 1662.

Patin, (Guy) was born at Houdan in 1601. He was a physician, but was less celebrated for his skill in physic, than for his letters which were read with eagerness, because they contained new anecdotes of such things as every body loves, and satires which are liked still more. He serves to shew what uncertain guides in history those writers are who inconsiderately write down the news of the day. Such

relations are frequently false, or perverted by the malignity of mankind; and such a multitude of petty facts are seldom considered as valuable but by little minds. He died in 1672.

Patin, (Charles) was born at Paris in 1633. He was the son of Guy Patin. His works are read by men of learning, as his father's letters are by men of leisure. Charles Patin, who was a very great antiquary, quitted Paris, and died professor of physics at Padua, in 1693.

Patru (Oliver) was born at Paris in 1604. He was the first who introduced correctness of language in pleadings at the bar. In his last sickness he received a gratuity from Lewis XIV. who was told that his circumstances were but poor. He died in 1681.

Pavillon, (Stephen) was born at Paris in 1632. He was advocate-general of the parliament of Metz, and distinguished himself by some poetical pieces which are natural: he died in 1705.

Pellisson Fontanier, (Paul) was born at Beziers in 1624: he was an indifferent poet, but was a man of great eloquence and learning, and was first clerk to the superintendant Fouquet; after which he was master of accounts, and master of requests, and was appointed to employ the revenue of the oeconomates to make the Hugonets quit their religion, which he had quitted himself. He is the author of many pieces, among which are prayers for the time of mals, a treatise upon the eucharist, a collection of pieces of gallantry, etc. But what gained him the greatest honour, are his discourse for Fouquet, and his history of the conquest of Franche-Comte. The protestants have pretended that he died with seeming in-

difference in regard to religion: but the catholics have affirmed the contrary: he died in 1693.

Perrault, (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1613. He was a physician; but he practised only among his friends. He, without a master, gained his skill in all those arts which relate to designing and mechanics. He was a good physician, and a great architect. He encouraged the arts under the protection of Colbert, and gained reputation notwithstanding Boileau: he died in 1688.

Perrault, (Charles) was born in 1626. He was the brother of Claudius. He was comptroller-general of the buildings under Colbert, and formed the academies of painting, sculpture and architecture. He was useful to men of letters, who shewed a respect for him during the life-time of his protector, but abandoned him after his death. He has been reproached with having found too many faults with the ancients; but his great fault was the having criticised them injudiciously. He died in 1703.

Petau, (Dennis) was born at Orleans in 1583. He was a Jesuit. He has corrected chronology. He is the author of seventy different works: he died in 1652.

Petis de la Croix, (Francis) was one of those whose merit was encouraged and rewarded by the great minister Colbert. Lewis XIV. sent him into Turkey and Persia at the age of sixteen to learn the oriental languages. Who would imagine that he wrote part of the life of Lewis XIV. in Arabic, and that this work is esteemed in the East? he wrote the history of Gengiskan and Tamerlane, compiled from ancient Arabian writers. He is also the author

of several other useful works, but his translation of the *Mille et un jour*, is that which is most read:

*L'homme est de Glace aux verites,
Il est de feu pour le mensonge.*

For truth mankind are languid in desire,
But falsehood's charms their passions always fire.

he died in 1713.

Petit (Peter) was born at Paris in 1617. He was a philosopher and a man of learning. He wrote only in Latin. He died in 1687.

Pezron (Paul) of the order of Citeaux, was born in Bretagne in 1639. He was a great antiquary, and was indefatigable in tracing the origin of the language of the Goths: he died in 1706.

Du Pin (Louis) was born in 1637. He was a doctor of Sorbonne. His library of ecclesiastical writers has gained him great reputation and some enemies. He died in 1719.

La Placette (John) of Bearn, was born in 1639. He was a protestant minister at Copenhagen and in Holland. He was esteemed for different works. He died at Utrecht in 1718.

De Polignac (Melchior) Cardinal, was born at Velay in 1662. He was as good a Latin poet as can be in a dead language, and was very eloquent in his own. He was one of many who have shewn that it is easier to write verses in Latin than in French: he died in 1741.

Poree (Charles) was born in Normandy in 1695. He was a Jesuit, and was one of those few professors who have been celebrated among persons of quality.

He was eloquent in the manner of Seneca, was a poet, and a man of great wit. His greatest merit consisted in making learning and virtue beloved by his disciples: he died in 1741.

De Puy Segur (the marshal) he has given us the art of war, as Boileau has that of poetry.

Quenel (Paquier) was born in 1634, and was of the oratory. He was unfortunate in being the subject of a great division between his countrymen. He spent his life in poverty and exile. His manners were severe, as are those of all who are engaged only in disputes. The changing and softening of thirty pages of his book would have prevented many quarrels in his country; but he would then have been less celebrated: he died in 1719.

Le Quien (Michael) was born in 1661. He was a Dominican, and a man of great learning. He applied himself greatly to the study of the Eastern churches, and that of England. He in particular wrote against Courayer upon the validity of the ordinations of the English bishops. But the English pay no more regard to these disputes than the Turks do to the dissertations upon the Greek church: he died in 1703.

Quinaut (Philip) was born at Paris in 1635. He was auditor of accounts, and was celebrated for his lyric poetry and for the mildness with which he opposed the most unjust satires of Boileau. He had a share, with the other great men, of the rewards given by Lewis XIV: he died in 1688.

La Quintinie (John) was born at Poitiers in 1626. He improved the art of gardening and transplanting trees. His precepts have been fol-

lowed by all Europe, and his abilities were magnificently rewarded by Lewis XIV: he died in 1699.

The marquis de Quincy, was lieutenant-general of the artillery, and author of the military history of Lewis XIV, wherein he enters into very long details, which are of use to those who in their reading pursue all the operations of a campaign. These details might serve for examples, provided parallel cases were drawn: but such are never found, neither in war nor other affairs. The resemblance is always imperfect, and the difference constantly great. The conduct of wars may be compared to games which depend upon art: they are learnt only by long practice: and days of action are always games of hazard.

Racine (John) was born at la Ferte-Milon in 1639. and educated at Port-royal. He still wore the ecclesiastical habit, when he wrote the tragedy of *Theagenes*, which he presented to Moliere, and that of the *Freres ennemis*, the subject of which was given him by Moliere. In the privilege of the *Andromacha* he is styled Prior de l'Epinal. Lewis XIV. was sensible of his great merit, made him one of the gentlemen in ordinary, named him sometimes to make the journies to Marly, made him lye in his chamber in one of his illnesses, and loaded him with favours. Nevertheless Racine died of chagrin, or of the dread which he felt for having displeased him. He was a greater poet than philosopher. It was long before perfect justice was done to him. We have been affected, says Saint-Evremont, by *Mariamne*, by *Sophonisba*, by *Alcionea*, by *Andromacha*, and by *Britannicus*. Thus it was common not only to compare the wretched *Sophonisba* of Corneille,

but even those impertinent pieces *Alcione* and *Mariamne*, with these immortal master-pieces of Racine. During the lives of celebrated artists dross is mixed with their gold, and the separation is made by death: he died in 1699.

Rance (John de Bouthillier) was born in 1626. His first work was a translation of *Anacreon*, and he instituted the dreaded reformation *de la Trappe* in 1664. He, as a legislator, dispensed with the law, which obliges those who live in this retirement, to be ignorant of what passes in the world. He wrote with eloquence: he died in 1700.

Rapin (Rene) was born at Tours in 1621. He was a Jesuit, and was known by his poem upon gardens in Latin, and by many other literary pieces: he died in 1687.

Rapin de Thoiras (Paul) was born at Castres in 1661. He was a refugee in England, and served long in the armies as an officer. England is indebted to him for the best history of that kingdom that has yet appeared, and the only one that is impartial, of a nation wherein few write without being actuated by the spirit of party: he died at Wesel in 1725.

Regis (Silvan) was born at Angenois in 1632. His philosophical works have been disregarded, in consequence of the great discoveries which have since been made: he died in 1707.

Regnard (Francis) was born at Paris in 1647. He had been famous for his voyages. He was the first Frenchman that went into Lapland. He cut the following line upon a rock: *Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit orbis*. He was taken in the sea of Provence by the Barbary Corsairs, made a

slave at Algiers, was ransomed, and was made treasurer of France, and lieutenant of the waters and forests. He lived like a philosopher and a voluptuary. He was born with a genius that was lively, gay, and truly comic. His comedy of the *Gamester* is compared with those of Moliere. Those who imagine he stole this piece from Dufreni must be very little acquainted with the talent and genius of authors. He dedicated the comedy called *Menechmes* to *Despreaux*, and afterwards wrote against him, because that poet did not do him justice. This man, though of such gaiety of humour, died of chagrin in the 52d year of his age. It is even said that he contributed himself to shorten his days: he died in 1699.

Regier Desmarets (Seraphin) was born at Paris in 1632. He has done great service to language, and is the author of some poetry in French and Italian. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for Petrarch's. But he could not have made his French verses pass for those of any great French poet: he died in 1713.

Renaudot (Theophrastus) was a physician, and a man of great learning in many things. He was the first author of Gazettes in France: he died in 1679.

Renaudot (Eusebius) was born in 1646. He was very learned in the Oriental history and languages. He may be reproached with having prevented Bayle's dictionary from being printed in France: he died in 1720.

Richelet (Caesar Peter) was the first who published a dictionary almost entirely satirical: his example is more dangerous than useful.

Du Rier (Peter) was born at Paris in 1605. He was secretary to the king and historiographer of France: but he was poor notwithstanding his places. He is the author of nineteen dramatic pieces and thirteen translations, which were all well received in his time: he died 1658.

La Rochefoucault (Francis duke de) was born in 1613. His memoirs are still read, and his maxims are known by heart. He died in 1680.

Rohaut (James) was born in Amiens in 1620. He abridged and explained the philosophy of Descartes with clearness and method. But this philosophy, which was erroneous almost in every thing, has now no other merit than that of having corrected the errors of the ancients. He died in 1675.

Rollin (Charles) was born at Paris in 1661. He was rector of the university, and the first of that body who wrote French with correctness and dignity. Though the last volumes of his ancient history, which are written in too great a hurry are not equal to the first, it is nevertheless the best compilation that has yet appeared in any language, because it is seldom that compilers are eloquent, and Rollin was remarkably so. He died in 1741.

Rotrou (John) was born in 1609. He was the founder of the theatre. The first scene and part of the fourth act of *Venceslas* are excellent. Corneille called him his father. Every one knows how greatly the son surpassed the father. *Venceslas* was not written till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

Rousseau (John Baptist) was born at Paris in 1669. Some very good verses, great faults, and long misfortunes, rendered him very famous. Those couplets which were the cause of his banishment,

and which are like several which he owned, must either be imputed to him, or the two tribunals which pronounced sentence upon him must be dishonoured. Not that two tribunals, and even more numerous bodies may not unanimously commit very great acts of injustice, when the spirit of party prevails. There was a very violent party against Rousseau. Few men have excited and felt the effects of hatred so much. He died, overwhelmed with misfortunes, at Brussels, in 1740.

De la Rue (Charles) was born in 1643. He was a Jesuit, a poet both in Latin and French, and a preacher. He was one of those who had the care of the editions of the classics known under the name of the *Dauphins*, for the education of *Monseigneur*. Virgil was published by him. He died in 1725.

De la Sabliere (Anthony de Rambouillet) his Madrigals are written with delicacy, without excluding what is natural. He died in 1680.

Sacy le Maitre (Lewis Isaac) was born in 1613. He was one of the good writers of Port Royal. He published *Royaumont's Bible*, and a translation of the comedies of Terence. He died in 1684.

Le Sage, was born in 1667. His romance of *Gil Blas*, still continues to be read, because he has imitated nature in it. He died in 1747.

Saint Aulaire (Francis Joseph de Beauvoir marquis de). It is remarkable that his best verses were written when he was upwards of ninety years of age. He, like the marquis de la Fare, scarce wrote any poetry at all till he was upwards of sixty. Among the first which were written by him, the following lines were attributed to de la Fare.

*O muse legere & facile,
 Qui sur le coteau d' Helicon
 Vintes offrir au vieil Anacreon
 Cet art charmant, cet art utile,
 Qui sai rendre douce & tranquile
 La plus incommode saison;
 Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse eclofes
 Orniez a ses cotes les graces & les ris,
 Et qui cachez ses cheveux gris
 Sous tant de couronnes de roses, etc.*

Muse, inconstant, airy, light,
 Who to Helicon's clear streams
 Old Anacreon do'st invite,
 And inspire with wanton dreams;
 Who with flowers from that fair hill
 Decks the graces in his eye;
 His grey hairs concealing still,
 Which under crowns of roses lie, etc.

He was received into the academy for this piece, which Boileau alleged as a reason why this favour should not be granted to him. He died in 1742, aged near 100 years, others say a hundred and two. When he was upwards of ninety five he once supped with the duchess of Maine, who called him Apollo, and desired him to tell her a certain secret: to which he replied:

*La divinite qui s' amuse
 A me demander mon secret,
 Si j'etais Apollon ne seroit point ma muse;
 Elle seroit Thetis & le jour finiroit.*

Were I Apollo, O divinest fair,
 Who deigns to ask the secret of a friend,
 You should not be my muse; but I declare
 You should be Thetis, and the day should
 end.

Anacreon himself, when he was a great deal younger, wrote much worse things. If the Greek writers had been equal to our good authors, they would have been still more vain, and we should now applaud them with still more reason.

Sainte-Marthe. This family for more than an hundred years has been fruitful in men of letters. The first *Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe* had a son named *Charles*, who was remarkable for his eloquence. He died in 1555.

Scevole, the nephew of Charles, distinguished himself in learning and business. He subjected Poitiers to Henry IV. He died at Loudun in 1623, and his funeral oration was made by the famous Urban Grandier.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe his son applied himself to literature, like his father, and died 1652. His son, named Abel after him, walked in his steps. He died in 1706.

Scevole and Lewis de Sainte-Marthe were twin-brothers, and sons of the first *Scevole*. They were both interred at Saint Severin in Paris, in the same grave. They distinguished themselves by their knowlege, and in conjunction composed the *Galilia Christiana*.

Dennis de Sainte-Marthe, their brother, completed that work, and died at Paris in 1725.

Peter Scevole de Sainte-Marthe, the elder brother of the last Scevole, was Historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

Saint Pierre (l'Abbe de) contributed by his writings to establish the proportional tax. His political notions were not always chimerical.

Saint Evremont (Charles) was born in Normandy in 1613. A voluptuous morality, with some letters written to persons at court, at a time when the word court was pronounced with emphasis by every body, and some very indifferent verses, which were called *Society verses*, written in illustrious assemblies; these, joined to great wit, contributed to the reputation of his works. A person, named *Desmaizeaux*, printed an edition of them, with a life of the author, which of itself makes a large volume; but it does not contain four pages that are of consequence. It is made up only with the same things which are in Saint Evremont's works. This is a bookseller's trick, and an abuse of editorship. By such artifices books are multiplied without end, and without improvement. Saint Evremont's exile, his philosophy, and his works, are well known. Being asked at his death, whether he was willing to be reconciled to his country, he replied, I would gladly be reconciled to my appetite. He is interred at Westminster among the kings and illustrious men of England. He died in 1703.

Saint Pavin (Dennis Sanguin de) was one of those men of merit, confounded by Despreaux in his satires with bad writers. The little we have of his, is esteemed for his delicacy and taste. His personal merit may appear from the following epitaph,

written for him, by Fieubet, master of requests, and one of the finest wits of this age.

Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin :

Donne des larmes a sa fin.

Tu fus de ses amis peut-etre ?

Pleure ton sort & le sien.

Tu-n'en fus pas ? pleur le tien

Passant, d'avoir manque d'en etre.

Beneath this stone Saint-Pavin lies ;

Deplore his loss with weeping eyes,

Wert thou his friend, thou wouldst, I know ;

If not, lament thou wert not so.

He died in 1670.

Sallo (Dennis) was born in 1626. He was counsellor of the parliament of Paris, and the inventor of journals, which Bayle brought to perfection, and which were afterwards dishonoured by other journals, which were published by avaricious and needy booksellers, and were written by obscure authors, who filled them with erroneous extracts, absurdities and lies. Nothing has been of greater disservice to literature, propagated bad taste more, or more confounded truth with falsehood. He died in 1669.

Sandras de Courtils was born at Montargis in 1644. He is inserted here to shew the French, but more especially foreigners, how much they ought to be upon their guard against these false memoirs printed in Holland. Courtils was one of those who were most culpable in this respect. He overspread Europe with fictions, under the name of histories.

It was shameful, that a captain in the regiment of Champagne should go into Holland to vend falsehood to the bookfellers. He and his imitators, who have written so many libels against their own country, against good princes, who disdained to be revenged on them, and against subjects who could not, have deserved public contempt and detestation. He composed, *The conduct of France since the peace of Nimegen*, and the reply to it. *The state of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV.* *The conduct of Mars in the wars of Holland.* *The amorous conquests of Alexander the great.* *The amorous intrigues of France.* *The life of Turenne.* *That of admiral Coligny.* *The memoirs of Rochefort, of Artagnan, of Monbrun, of Vordac, of the marchioness du Frene.* *The political will of Colbert*, and many other works, which have amused and deceived weak minds. He died at Paris in 1712.

Sanfon (Nicholas) was born at Abbeville in 1600. He was the father of geography, before William de L'Isle. He died in 1667. His two sons inherited his merit.

Santeuil (John Baptist) was born at Paris in 1600. He was an excellent Latin poet, if there can be one; and yet he could not write poetry in French. His hymns are sung in the churches. He died in 1697.

Sarrafin (John Francis) was born near Caen in 1605. He has written agreeable things both in prose and verse. He died in 1655.

Saumaïse (Claudius) was born in Burgundy in 1588. He retired to Leyden for the sake of

liberty: he was distinguished for his learning: he died in 1653.

Sauveur (Joseph) was born at la Fleche in 1653. He learned the elements of geometry without a master: he was one of the first who calculated the advantages and disadvantages of the games of hazard: he affirmed, that whatever one man was capable of doing in mathematics, any other was equally capable to do the same. But this must be understood of those who learn, and not of inventors: he had been dumb to the age of seven years: he died in 1716.

Scaron (Paul) son of a counsellor of the great chamber, was born in 1598. His comedies are rather burlesque than comical. His *Virgil travestie* is excusable only in a buffoon. His comical romance is almost the only work of his, which still continues to be liked by persons of taste. This was foretold by Boileau. He died in 1660.

Scuderi (George de) was born at Havre de Grace in 1603. Being favoured by cardinal Richlieu, he, for some time, balanced the reputation of Corneille. His name is better known than his works: he died in 1667.

Scuderi (Magdalen) the sister of George, was born at Havre in 1607. She is now more known by some pretty verses which she wrote, than by her enormous romances of *Clelia* and *Cyrus*. Lewis XIV. gave her a pension, and received her in a distinguished manner: she died in 1701.

Segrais (John) was born at Caen in 1625. *Mademoiselle* calls him, a sort of a wit, but he was, indeed, a very great wit, and a man of real learning. He was obliged to quit the service of

this princess, for having opposed her marriage with the Count de Lauzon. His eclogues and his translation of Virgil were esteemed, but now they are not read. It is remarkable, that Breboeuf's *Pharsalia* is still read, while Segrais's *Aeneid* is entirely neglected. Nevertheless Boileau praises Segrais; and depreciates Breboeuf: he died in 1701.

Senecai, first Valet de chambre to Maria Theresa. He was a poet of a singular imagination. His tale of *Kaimac*, some few passages excepted, is a distinguished work. It is a proof that a tale may be told in a manner very different from Fontaine. It may here be observed, that this piece, which is the only one good thing written by him, is the only one not inserted in the collection of his works.

Sevigne (Mary de Rabutin) was born in 1626. Her letters, which are filled with anecdotes, written with freedom, and in a lively animated style, are an excellent criticism upon studied letters of wit, and still more upon those fictitious letters, wherein it is endeavoured to imitate the epistolary style, by a recital of false sentiments and feigned adventures to imaginary correspondents: she died in 1696.

Simon (Richard) was born in 1638. He was of the oratory, and was an excellent critic. His history of the rise and progress of ecclesiastical revenues, and his critical history of the Old Testament, etc. are read by all men of learning: he died at Dieppe in 1712.

Sortieres (Samuel) was born in Dauphiny in 1610. He was one of those who had the title of Historiographer of France. Being a friend of

Pope Clement IX, before his elevation to the papal dignity, and receiving but poor marks of the generosity of this Pontiff, he wrote thus to him: "Most holy father, you send ruffles to a man who is without a shirt." He had some knowledge in many sciences: he died in 1670.

De la Suze (the Countess Henrietta de Coligni) was celebrated in her time by her wit and her elegies. She turned Catholic, because her husband was a Huguenot, and at last separated from him, said Queen Christina, that she might never more see her husband neither in this world nor the other: she died in 1673.

Tallemant (Francis) was born at Rochelle in 1620. He was the second translator of Plutarch: he died in 1693.

Tallemant (Paul) was born at Paris in 1642. Though he was grandson of the rich Monteron, and son of a master of requests, who had had two hundred thousand livres a year of our present money, he remained almost without any fortune. Colbert made some provision for him, as he did to other men of letters. He was principally concerned in the history of the king by medals: he died in 1712.

Talon (Omer) advocate-general of the parliament of Paris, has left some useful memoirs, which are worthy of a good magistrate and a good citizen: he died in 1652.

Tarteron, the Jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal; and suppressed those gross obscenities, with which it is surprising that Juvenal, and more particularly Horace, should disgrace their works. In doing this, he

had a regard to youth, for whose use he thought he did them. But his translations are not literal enough for them: he gives the sense, but not an equivalent for the words.

Terrason (the Abbe) was a philosopher both in his life and death. There are some excellent things in his *Sethos*. His translation of Diodorus is useful, but his examination of Homer is void of all taste: he died 1750.

Thiers, (John Baptist) was born at Chartres in 1641. He is the author of many dissertations. It was him who wrote against the inscriptions on the convent of the cordeliers at Rheims, *To God and Saint Francis, who were both crucified*: he died in 1703.

Thomassin, (Lewis) of the Oratory, was born in Province in 1619. He was a man of profound learning, and was the first who wrote dialogues upon the fathers, upon councils, and upon history. Towards the end of his life he forgot every thing which he had known, and remembered nothing of what he had written: he died in 1695.

Thoynard (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1629. It is said he had a great share in Cardinal Norris's treatise upon Syrian Epochas. His concordance to the four evangelists in Greek, is regarded as a curious work. He was only a man of learning, but he was profoundly so: he died in 1706.

Tourel, (James) was born at Thoulouse in 1656. He was celebrated for his translation of Demosthenes: he died in 1715.

Tournefort (Joseph Pitton de) was born in Pro-

province in 1656. He was the greatest botanist of his time. He was sent by Lewis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, to perfect Natural history. He brought into France 1336 new species of plants, and he taught us the nature of our own: he died in 1708.

Le Tourneaux was born in 1640. His *Christian Year* is in the hands of many, although it is inserted in the catalogue of prohibited books at Rome, and perhaps this is the reason for its being so: he died in 1686.

Tristan P Hermite, gentleman to Gaston d'Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIII. The prodigious and continued success of his tragedy of *Marianne*, was occasioned by the ignorance which then prevailed. There were no better; and when the reputation of this piece was established, more than one tragedy of Corneille was necessary to destroy it. There are nations still where very indifferent pieces are thought excellent, because they have not been surpassed by any superior genius. It is not generally known that Tristan versified the office for the holy Virgin, nor is it strange that we should be ignorant of it: he died in 1655.

Vaillant (John Foy) was born at Beauvais in 1632. The public is indebted to him for the science of medals, and the king for one half of his cabinet. The minister Colbert sent him into Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. Some Algerine corsairs took him in 1674, together with Desgodets the architect. They were both ransomed by the King. No man of learning ever went through more dangers: he died in 1706.

Vaillant, (John Francis) his son, was born at

Rome in 1665, during his father's travels. He also was an antiquary, and died in 1708.

Valincourt, (John Bap̄tist Henry du Troussel de) was born in Picardy in 1653. An epistle addressed to him by Despreaux gained him his greatest reputation. He is the author of some inconsiderable pieces. He was a man of learning, but if he had been nothing else, he would not have made so great a fortune as he did: he died in 1730.

Varignon, (Peter) was born at Caen in 1654. He was a celebrated mathematician, and died in 1722.

Varillas, (Anthony) was born in Marche in 1624. He was a more agreeable than accurate historian: he died in 1696.

Le Vassor, (Michel) of the Oratory. He was a refugee in England. His history of Lewis XIII. which is diffuse, tedious, and satirical, has been read for the sake of many singular facts which it contains: he died in 1718.

Vauban, (the Marshal de) was born in 1633. His scheme for real tenths was never put in execution, and is indeed impracticable. He is the author of several tracts which are worthy of so good a citizen: he died in 1707.

Vangelas, (Claudius Favre de) was born at Chamberry in 1585. He was one of the first who corrected and regulated language. He could write verses in Italian, but not in French. He continued to correct his translation of Quintus Curtius for thirty years. Whoever would write well ought to correct his works all his life: he died in 1650.

Vavaseur, was born in Charolois in 1605. He

was a Jesuit, and a man of great learning. He was the first who shewed that the Greeks and Romans knew nothing of the burlesque stile, which is the remains of barbarism: he died in 1681.

Le Vayer, (Francis) was born at Paris in 1588. He was preceptor to *Monsieur* the brother of Lewis XIV. and taught the King himself during one year. He was Historiographer of France, and counsellor of state. He was a strong Pirrhoneist, and known as such. But this did not prevent so important an education from being intrusted to him. A great deal of knowlege and good sense is shewn in his works, which, however, are too diffuse: he died in 1672.

Vergier, (James) was born at Paris in 1675. Compared with Fontaine, he is what Campistron is to Racine. He was a faint but natural imitator. He was assassinated at Paris by robbers in 1720. We are told in Moreri that he wrote a parody against a powerful prince who caused him to be killed. But this story is false and absurd.

Vertot, (Rene Aubert) was born in Normandy in 1655. He is an agreeable and elegant historian: he died in 1735.

Vichart de Saint Real, (Caesar) was born at Chamberri, but educated in France. His history of the conspiracy at Venice is an excellent piece. His life of Christ is extremely different: he died in 1692.

Villars de Montfaucon, (the Abbe de) was born in 1635. He was celebrated for his *Count de Gabbalis*, which is a part of the antient mythology of the Persians. The author was killed in 1673, by

a pistol shot. It was said the Silphs assassinated him for having revealed their mysteries.

Villars, (the Marshal Duke de) was born in 1652. The first volume of the memoirs which pass under his name is entirely his own. He died in 1734.

Villedieu, (Madame de) her Romances gained her great reputation. Not that we would here be thought to set any value upon those romances, with which France has been, and still continues to be, over-run: almost all of them, except Zaide, are the productions of weak minds, who easily write such things as are not worthy to be read by persons of sense. They are even, for the most part, void of imagination, and there is more in four pages of Ariosto than in all these insipid writings put together, which spoil the taste of our youth. She died in 1683.

Voiture, (Vincent) was born at Amiens in 1598. He was the first in France distinguished for being what is called a *bel esprit*; and this is all his merit in his writings, from which we should not form our taste; but this merit was then very uncommon. We have some fine lines written by him, but they are but few. Those which he wrote for Anne of Austria, and which are not printed in his works, are a memorial of that free gallantry which reigned in the court of that Queen, whose sweet temper and natural goodness was tried by the Frondeurs.

*Je pensais si le Cardinal,
 J'entend celui de la valette,
 Pouvait voir l'eclat sans egal
 Dans lequel maintenant vous etes, †
 J'entens celui de la beaute.
 Car aupres je' n'estime guere,
 Cela soit dit sans vous deplaire,
 Tout l'eclat de la majeste.*

He also wrote verses in Italian and Spanish with success. He died in 1648.

Celebrated Artists.

MUSICIANS.

The French music, at least the vocal part, is not agreeable to any other nation; nor can be so, because the French prosody is different from that of all Europe. We always accent upon the last syllable, whereas the Italians and all other nations do this upon the penultima, or the antepenultima. Our language is the only one which has words ending with *e mute*, and these *e's* which are not pronounced in common discourse, are pronounced in regular declamation, and that in a uniform manner, as *gloi-reu, victoi-reu, barbari-eu, furi-eu*. And this is what renders most of our airs and recitatives insupportable to every one not accustomed to them.

† At that time it was the custom in poetry to suppress the final letters, which were sometimes inconvenient, as *vous etc* for *vous etes*. This is done by the Italians and English. French poetry is too confined and frequently too prosaic.

Our climate also denies us that lightness of voice possessed by the Italians. We do not practise that custom which is common at Rome, and in the other Italian courts, of depriving men of their virility to make their voices more musical than that of women. All this, joined to the slowness of our music, which makes an odd contrast with our national vivacity, constantly renders the French music agreeable only to themselves.

Yet notwithstanding all this, foreigners, who have lived long in France, confess that our musicians, by adapting their music to the words, have produced excellent compositions; and that our regulated declamation has frequently a most admirable effect; but this is only to ears extremely well accustomed to them; and even then the execution must be quite correct.

Our instrumental music partakes somewhat of that monotony and slowness for which the vocal is accused; but many of our symphonies, and particularly our minuets, have been very well liked by other nations. They are performed in many of the Italian *operas*. There are scarce any other than these in a nation whose sovereign has one of the best *operas* in Europe, and who among the number of his other singular talents, has condescended also to cultivate that for music with the greatest care.

John Baptist *Lulli* was born at Florence in 1635, brought into France at the age of 14 years, and though he could then only play upon the violin, he became the father of the true French music. He knew how to adapt his art to the genius of the language, which was the only way to succeed. It

may here be observed, that the Italian music was not then very different from that gravity and noble simplicity which we admire in the recitatives of *Lulli*.

After him, all our musicians, such as *Colasse*, *Campra*, *Destouches*, and others, have been his imitators; till, at last, there appeared a man, who raised himself above them by the compass of his harmony, and who new modelled the art of music.

With regard to church music, though there are many in France celebrated for their skill in it; yet their compositions have not been received in any other nation.

Of Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, etc.

It is not the same in regard to Painting as to Music. A nation may have a harmony agreeable only to itself, because the genius of its language will admit no other: but it is the business of painters to represent nature, which is the same in all countries, and which is every where seen with the same eyes.

For a painter to gain a just reputation, his works must be esteemed by foreigners. It is not sufficient to have a party, and be praised in trifling books; his works must be bought.

That which sometimes confines the talents of painters, is what should serve rather to extend them. It is the method they observe in imitating the masters which they study. Academies, no doubt, are extremely useful to form pupils, especially when the masters are such as work in the grand taste; but when the master is one who works in the petty

gout, and whose manner is dry and laboured, if his figures are unnatural, and his painting like that upon fans, the pupils, being subjected to imitation, and to the desire of pleasing a bad master, entirely lose the idea of natural truth and beauty. There is a fatality attends academies. No work of any kind called academical has yet been a work of genius. Shew me an artist who is possessed with the fear of not imitating his masters, and his productions will be weak and confined. Give me a man of a free genius, filled with the idea of nature which he copies, and he shall succeed. Almost all the great artists have flourished either before the establishment of academies, or have worked in a taste different from that which prevailed in them.

Corneille, Racine, Despreaux, Le Moine, all not only pursued a manner different from other writers, but they had almost all of them for their enemies.

Nicholas Poussin, born at Andelis in Normandy in 1599, was the pupil of his own genius, which he perfected at Rome. He was called the painter for men of sense. He may also be called the painter for men of taste. His only fault is the having heightened the colouring of the Roman school too much. He was the greatest painter in Europe in his time. Being recalled from Rome to Paris, he was there overpowered by the force of envy and cabals; which determined him to retire. This has been the case of other artists. *Poussin* returned to Rome, where he lived poor but contented. His philosophy placed him above the reach of fortune. He died in 1665.

Eustachius le Sueur was born at Paris in 1617.

Though *Vouet*, was his only master, he, nevertheless became an excellent painter. He had carried his art to the highest degree of perfection, when he died, aged 38 years, in 1655.

Bourdon and *le Valentin* have been celebrated. Three of the best pictures, which adorn the church of Saint Peter at Rome, are by *Poussin*, *Bourdon*, and *Valentin*.

Charles Le Brun was born at Paris in 1619. He had scarce made his genius appear, when the superintendant *Fouquet*, one of the most generous and most unfortunate men that ever lived, gave him a pension of twenty four thousand livres of our present money. It is remarkable, that his painting of the *Family of Darius*, which is at Versailles, is not surpassed by the colouring of the picture of *Paul Veronese*, which is placed over against it; and that it is greatly superior to it in design, composition, dignity, expression, and the justness of the *Costume*. The prints from his pictures of the *Battles of Alexander*, are even more esteemed than the *Battles of Constantin*, by *Raphael* and *Julio Romano*. He died in 1690.

Peter Mignard, born at Troies in Champagne in 1610, was, for some time, the rival of *Le Brun*; but he is no longer so in the eyes of posterity. He died in 1695.

Joseph Parosel was born in 1648. He was a good painter, and surpassed by his son. He died in 1704.

John Jouvenet was born at Rouen in 1644. He was the pupil of *Le Brun*, and though a good painter, was inferior to his master. He has painted almost all objects of a yellow colour, of which co-

lour they appeared to him, through a particular conformation of his organs of sight. He died in 1717.

John Baptift Santerre, has left some Easel-pieces, finished and coloured in the most admirable manner. His picture of *Adam* and *Eve* is one of the finest in Europe.

La Fosse is distinguished by a merit nearly the same with the preceding.

Bon Boulogne, was an excellent painter: a proof of which is, that his paintings are sold at a very high price.

Lewis Bologne. His paintings which do not want merit, are less valued than those of his brother.

Raous, was a painter whose performances were unequal, but in his best pieces he has equalled Rembrand.

Rigaut. Though he chiefly distinguished himself in painting portraits, yet the great picture, wherein he has represented the cardinal de Bouillon opening the holy year, is a master-piece equal to the best works of Rubens.

De Troie worked in the style of Rigaut.

Vateau. He was in the graceful manner what *Teniers* was in the grotesque. He had disciples whose pictures are very highly esteemed.

Le Moine has perhaps surpassed all our painters by the composition of the *Salon of Hercules* at Versailles. This apotheosis of Hercules was a compliment to the cardinal, Hercules de Fleuri, who had nothing that could be compared with the Hercules of the fable. A representation of the apotheosis of Henry the IV, would have been more proper in the salon of a king of France. *Le Moine* being envied by those of his profession, and not

thinking himself sufficiently recompensed by the Cardinal, killed himself in despair.

Some others have excelled in painting animals, as *Desportes* and *Oudry*; others have succeeded in miniature; and several in portraits. Some of our painters now distinguish themselves by paintings of a higher kind; and it is propable the art will not be lost among us.

Sculpture was brought to perfection under Lewis XIV, and continues the same under Lewis XV.

James Sarrafin, was born in 1598, executed many excellent pieces of sculpture at Rome for Clement VIII. and he finished others at Paris, with the same success. He died in 1660.

Peter Puget, was born in 1662. He was an architect, a sculptor, and a painter. He was chiefly celebrated for the *Andromeda* and for the *Milon Crotoniate*. He died 1695.

Le Gros and Theodon have adorned Italy with their works,

Francis Girardan, born in 1627, in his baths of Apollo and the tomb of cardinal Richelieu, has equalled the finest remains of antiquity. He died in 1715.

The *Croisevaux* and the *Coustoux* were remarkable; but they are now surpassed by four or five of our present sculptors.

Chaveau, *Manteuil*, *Melan*, *Audran*, *Hedeling*, *Le Clerc*, the *Drevets*, *Polisy*, *Picart*, *du Change* and others, have succeeded in Engravings, and their prints adorn the cabinets of those in Europe who cannot be at the expence of paintings.

Workers in gold and silver have also merited to be placed among our most celebrated artists, by the

beauty of their designs, and the elegance of their execution.

It is not so easy for a genius born with the grand gout for architecture to shew his talents, as it is for other artists to shew theirs. Such a person is unable to raise superb structures, unless he is employed by a prince. Many a good architect has possessed talents which have been entirely useless.

Francis Mansard, was one of the best architects in Europe. The castle or rather the palace of *Maisons*, near Saint Germain, is a master-piece, because he had entire liberty to follow his genius.

Julius Hardouin Mansard, his nephew, made an immense fortune under Lewis XIV, and was superintendant of the buildings.

The works constructed after the designs of *Perault*, *Leveau*, and *Dorbay*, are well known.

The agreeable part of Gardening was brought to perfection by *Le Notre*, and the useful by *La Quintynie*.

Engraving upon precious stones, striking of medals, and letter founding, for the printing of books, were all produced in consequence of the rapid progress made by other arts.

Clock-makers, who may be considered as practical natural philosophers, have caused an admiration of their genius and labour.

Silks and stuffs, and even the gold by which they are enriched, have been adorned, with such uncommon taste and knowledge, that vestments which have been worn only through luxury, have deserved to be preserved as monuments of industry.

We began to make *Porcelaine* at Saint Cloud, before it was made in any other part of Europe.

To conclude, the last age has enabled the present to collect and transmit to posterity, all the arts and sciences, each of them brought to as great a degree of perfection as human industry is capable of: and to do this is at present the intention and endeavours of a society of men of learning eminent for their genius and knowlege. This immense and immortal work seems to accuse the brevity of human life.



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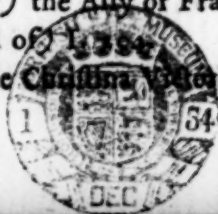
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